THE MEANING OF THE MOVE INTO IRAN *An Editorial*

NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS A COPY SEPTEMBER 2, 1941

TURNING POINT FOR THE WORLD

The key to the politics of the major powers.

What Hitler did not foresee.

by **R. PALME DUTT**

OUR ARMY'S MORALE *By Adam Lapin*

THE AUTO WORKERS' CONVENTION *By Bruce Minton*

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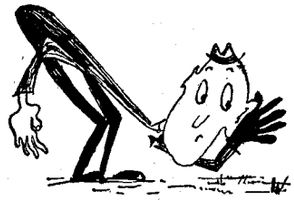
Between Ourselves

BECAUSE of the Labor Day holiday NM will go to press one day later than usual. The magazine will appear on the newsstands on Friday instead of Thursday.

For the first time, starting September 4, NM will have its own radio program. Every Thursday at 11 PM, the magazine will broadcast a weekly news analysis over station WHOM (1480 kilocycles), New York. Our commentator will be Bruce Minton, an editor of NM, and co-author of *The Fat Years and the Lean,* and *Men Who Lead Labor.* In our new venture, the entire staff of NM urges all friends to listen in and to gather their friends together to hear what NM has to say on world affairs. We'll be with you then, beginning eleven o'clock next Thursday evening, and every week thereafter, over WHOM, 1480 on the dial.

An NM lad who sells the magazine on the street came in the other day with a pocketful of coin and a report that Beatrice King's article on "The Soviet Family" was one of his best "pullers." (His sales, he said, were helped a little by a large and angry woman who paraded by three times with a copy of *Social Justice* under her arm, to make snorting remarks about the non-existence of families in the USSR—thereby attracting the attention of more passersby to the magazine and gaining him two customers.) We've been hearing a good deal about the article, ourselves, and quite a lot for that matter about Andrew Rothstein's discussion of the Soviet press, published in the issue before. Next week NM will carry an article on a subject about which very little has appeared in this country: Soviet law and lawyers. It is written by Dudley Collard, a noted English authority on law in the USSR.

We have also scheduled for early publication a piece by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn on Earl Browder. In this article Miss Flynn pictures Browder's early life and his development into a people's leader. It will give readers who have never met Earl Browder personally a deeper insight into the qualities that have made him a great political figure.



Samuel Putnam has written for us a sketch of the world-famous Soviet correspondent and author, Ilya Ehrenbourg, whom Putnam knew in Paris some years ago. The article, which is part of an uncompleted book on the European scene of that time, discusses also Ehrenbourg's writings on France and his penetrating prophecies regarding the fate of a civilization "typified by a Jean Cocteau christening his godchild at the Ritz."

Recently we promised to let readers know when A. B. Magil's article on Earl Browder's anti-fascist writings (NM, August 5) would be published in pamphlet form and how it could be obtained. Well, the pamphlet is out now, under the title "America Needs Earl Browder"; it sells for one penny and can be obtained from the Workers Library Publishers, PO Box 148, Sta. D, New York City.

The second article in Joseph Starobin's series on "White Papers and Red" will appear in an early issue.

Elizabeth Green, author of "Oklahoma Ordeal" (August 19 issue of NM), asks us to correct a typographical error in the article which makes it seem that Goldie Brausch is a defendant in the Oklahoma criminal-syndicalism trials. It is Mrs. C. A. Lewis, also known as "Goldie," who is a defendant. Goldie Brausch is the wife of defendant Herbert Brausch.

Croton-on-Hudson is just thirty-five miles from Manhattan, and it's particularly easy to get there when there's a party going on at Bill and Sophie Gropper's house, for the benefit of NM. Said party will take place on Saturday evening, August 30. There will be, according to the announcement, "food, refreshment, frivolities." The program includes music by Burl Ives; Ruth Fremont of the American Ballad Singers; Paul Villard, New York's most popular accordionist; and Dorothy Kesner, violinist. The party starts at 6 PM, and admission is fifty cents.

And a reminder, while there's still time to make reservations, of NM's weekend at Chester's Zunbarg on the weekend following Labor Day. It opens Friday evening, September 5, and continues until Sunday evening, September 7. There are plenty of facilities for sports, and the special entertainment planned includes a revue, and an all-Russian program of songs. After-breakfast lectures on national and world happenings will be given Saturday and Sunday. The entire cost of the weekend is $10, and transportation arrangements can be made at a minimum charge. For further details, see page 29.

Flashbacks

AUGUST 30 marks the fifth anniversary of the death of Henri Barbusse, French writer and world leader in the fight against fascism. . . . One hundred southern women living in the poll-tax states, on Aug. 26, 1940, commemorated the twentieth anniversary of Women's Suffrage in America by calling upon Congress to pass the Geyer bill abolishing poll taxes in federal elections. . . . And Martin Dies, congressman from poll-tax Texas, was exposed by fellow representatives in the House on August 29 of last year for his refusal to investigate fascist and Nazi organizations while persecuting progressives as "Reds."

Who's Who

R. PALME DUTT is among the foremost Marxist analysts in the English speaking world. He is the editor of the British *Labor Monthly* and author of several books. . . . Claude Cockburn was editor of the internationally known newsletter the *Week.* He was also Washington correspondent of the London *Times.* . . . Colonel T. is the pseudonym of a military expert. . . . Adam Lapin is NM's Washington correspondent. . . . I. V. Yakushkin is a member of the Academy of Science of the USSR. . . . Samuel Putnam is a well known authority on Latin America and the

author of several books. . . . David Silver's review in this issue marks his first appearance in NM. . . . Genevieve Taggard, author of several volumes of verse and biographer of Emily Dickinson, compiled and edited *May Days,* an anthology of verse from the old *Masses* and the *Liberator.*

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NEW MASSES
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HOW NOT TO BUILD ARMY MORALE

The story of the officers who borrowed from Goebbels to teach American soldiers. Who is Mr. Osborn? Adam Lapin discusses the need for genuine education on the war's issues.

Washington.

SOLDIERS participating in the maneuvers of the Second Army in Louisiana and Arkansas were recently handed a fifteen-page manual apparently designed as political background to illuminate the world situation as well as their own activities in the army. Intelligent discussion of international affairs should obviously be a far more important part of army routine, and the Second Army manual would on the surface appear to be a welcome and much needed document. But just on the surface. The only trouble with the manual is simply this: that it reads like a Nazi tract. In a wire to Secretary of War Stimson protesting against the manual, Bishop Henry W. Hobson, chairman of the Fight for Freedom Committee, said that it was "beyond belief that the War Department should lend itself to material that might well have been written by Goebbels."

THE MANUAL stated that its purpose was to "dramatize for the entire personnel of the Second Army—and so far as we are able, to the public—a fictitious situation immediately preceding the maneuvers." But it hastily added that this fiction "is even less strange than the reality of Europe at war today." A war between two imaginary countries, Almat and Kotmk, is described in the manual which makes it pretty plain that Almat is a composite of the democratic countries of Europe while Kotmk is Nazi Germany. Trade unions and democratic institutions in Almat are bitterly attacked in a manner that smacks of Nazi propaganda. Here is what the manual says about the situation in Almat following its successful emergence from a previous war:

"There was rapid industrial development and within a few years various industrial abuses led to a powerful trade union movement that soon was largely taken over by Communist elements. There was also a greater separation than ever before between the wealthy classes of Almat on the one hand and the laboring elements on the other. The tendencies of corruption in the government of Almat were magnified in this period of prosperity and industrial expansion to a greater extent than ever before, and the individualistic characteristics of the people of this country were indicated to an extent approaching decadence by multiplicity of political parties continually making swaps that changed the balance of political power from year to year and in some periods almost from month to month."

Conditions in Kotmk or Germany, as that country fights to regain its position of world dominance, are described in a virtual prose poem of praise for fascism. "Nor is it stretching the imagination," the introduction to the manual reads, "to find in Kotmk a resurgency of virility somewhat similar to the growth of the spirit of irridentism and finally of aggression that took place in Germany after that country began to recover its strength and was ready for political leadership prepared to utilize that strength to the utmost." The virility of Kotmk as contrasted with the decadence of Almat is pictured at another point in the manual as follows: "The vigor of the young people of Kotmk was so pronounced that medical authorities all over the world held the Kotmk government's program up as the finest ever devised in the strengthening of the race." Admiration for the race theories of the Nazis is only thinly concealed in this passage.

Kotmk tries to regain access to a river which was once in its territory. Territorial conflicts between the two countries flare up and approach the point of war. In Almat there is indecision, and feverish but aimless diplomatic activity. But in Kotmk "the attitude was one of calm confidence and assurance." As a matter of fact, it looks pretty much as if Kotmk was acting in self-defense and in an effort to maintain peace. "In order to prevent border incidents during the confusion in Almat, the government of Kotmk has ordered that the frontier between the two countries be closed and sealed." Premier Kodunkis (Hitler) of Kotmk calls upon the president of Almat "to meet with me in our capital city within forty-eight hours to discuss the final elimination of all arbitrary, unfair, wicked provisions of the Treaty of 1919." But the president of Almat refuses to accept the invitation. War breaks out, and military disaster "of such proportions that it would make certain the outcome of the war" impends for Almat.

IMMEDIATE RESPONSIBILITY for this masterpiece of political analysis would seem to rest on a minor intelligence officer whose name is carried in the manual, Major R. A. Griffin, Assistant AC of S, G-2, Hq. Second Army. But it is not without interest that the commanding officer of the Second Army is Gen. Ben Lear of Yoo-Hoo fame. It might be well asked whether Major Griffin's ideas about fascism and democracy do not blend rather harmoniously with General Lear's ideas about the kind of discipline which should be imposed on a democratic army.

The reactionary politics of some of the army brass hats probably has more than a little to do with some of the recent incidents which have been disturbing army morale. The Jim Crow attitude which is still dominant in the army can hardly be expected to arouse the enthusiasm of the nation's Negro soldiers, and is obviously at the root of the violence which flared up at Fort Bragg. General Lear's celebrated coup on the golf links did not exactly put the army on fire with determination to resist Hitlerism.

Of course it would be a mistake to assume that every army officer is a General Lear, or that all officially sponsored political discussion in the army is on the level of the manual put out in the Second Army. At Camp Dix, for example, there were four simultaneous showings on one night of Charlie Chaplin's anti-fascist classic, *The Great Dictator*. It would be an even greater mistake to assume that the most reactionary officers could succeed in selling the glories of fascism to the rank and file of the army. But it is nonetheless worth thinking about the findings of the *Life* reporter who said that ninety-five percent of the 400 privates he talked to in a southern army camp expressed the feeling that there is at present no emergency sufficiently grave to keep them from leaving for home at once. If these men were in the Second Army, Major Griffin's

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Heliker

manual must have cleared up the international situation for them beautifully.

One of the few steps taken by the army so far to meet the morale problem was the appointment of Frederick H. Osborn, New York anthropologist and broker, as chief morale officer with the rank of brigadier general. Osborn is by all odds the army's favorite civilian. He is chairman of the Joint Army and Navy Committee of Welfare and Recreation. He also headed the national setup which was nominally in charge of occupational deferments from selective service. Washington observers have been unable to discover anything particularly distinctive about Osborn apart from the fact that he stands about six feet six in his stockings. The new brigadier general's very lack of force and vision is probably the quality that endears him most to the brass hats. At press conferences where selective service rules were first announced, Osborn hardly dared to open his mouth, even though he was ostensibly being interviewed. Every time he started to say something, a major or colonel would gently shove him aside and explain: "What Mr. Osborn means to say is this. . . ."

A deficiency in backbone is bad enough in a man with the important job of chief morale officer for the army. Even more serious is the fact that Osborn is the erstwhile partner in the Wall Street firm of Grayson M.P. Murphy. The late Gen. Smedley Butler put Murphy briefly in the headlines back in 1935. He charged that Murphy had acted as a go-between for powerful Wall Street interests in offering him a considerable sum of money to lead a fascist march on Washington. It would be worthwhile to find out to what extent Osborn shared Murphy's point of view.

Major Gen. John F. O'Ryan, retired, has also bobbed up recently as one of the army's pets. Secretary of War Stimson has appointed O'Ryan as one of three civilian advisers on the National Guard and Reservists. During World War I, O'Ryan is understood to have been one of the outstanding exponents of ruthless, robot-like discipline. A few years ago when he served a brief term as chief of police in New York, O'Ryan used Elizabeth Dilling's *Red Network* as a textbook for policemen. O'Ryan's tenure expired shortly after it was discovered that Mayor LaGuardia was prominently listed in Mrs. Dilling's compendium. Last year O'Ryan was one of the big boys in the anti-Soviet drive when he headed Fighting Funds for Finland. And as recently as January 2 of this year he was listed as a Japanese agent in the State Department. It is not too hard to picture the kind of contribution O'Ryan will make to army morale.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT has already rebuffed the army's brass hats in regard to a critically important issue. The rebuke was indirect, but nonetheless significant. From the start of the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union, practically the entire War Department, including Chief of Staff Gen. George C. Marshall, considered a Russian debacle inevitable. Estimates of complete Nazi victory within one or two months were freely bandied about at well attended press conferences. High army officers permitted themselves to be quoted to this effect—as long as their names were not used. Now the President has publicly announced that American aid to the Soviet Union will fall into two categories: shipments for immediate use and supplies which the Russian armies can use during the spring campaign. The President made it plain that this perspective assumes continued Soviet resistance. The government was forced to toss the opinions of its military experts into the waste basket in mapping its plans to defeat Hitlerism.

The complete failure of the army to appraise correctly the fighting on the Eastern Front cannot be lightly dismissed. Little mistakes of this kind can sometimes be rather costly in time of war. The immediate cause for the War Department's underestimation of the Red Army seems to have been sheer ignorance. The army simply did not know anything about Soviet preparedness. There is no evidence to indicate that our intelligence officers even bothered to read the available literature on the subject put out in the Soviet Union and in Germany. But behind this ignorance were basic political factors: prejudice against the socialist society of the Soviet Union, a conviction that the Nazi panzer divisions were well nigh invincible, and a sprinkling of ex-Colonel Lindbergh's well known theories about Soviet weakness and Nazi strength.

As far as is known here, Col. Philip B. Faymonville was the only intelligence officer to hold a high opinion of the Red Army. He also appears to have been the only officer to have made a real study of Soviet armed strength. For four and a half years Faymonville was American military attache in Moscow. He is said to have established excellent contacts in the USSR and to have been given a real opportunity to get a picture of the Red Army. But it is understood here that his reports were almost completely disregarded. Early in 1939 Faymonville was recalled from Moscow, and transferred to a minor ordnance job in San Francisco. Army circles believed that he was just a little cracked on the subject of the Russian military establishment. But a few weeks ago President Roosevelt is reported personally to have brought Faymonville back to Washington as special assistant to Major Gen. James H. Burns, executive officer of the lend-lease setup under Harry Hopkins. Faymonville's job is said to be that of liaison with the Soviet military mission now in Washington, and there is a report that he may soon be sent back to Moscow.

The President is now acting on the premise that the army was badly misinformed about the Soviet Union. It is to be hoped that he will soon recognize the fact that the same conservatism and the same ingrown prejudices may have led to equally serious mistakes in the field of morale, and in the building of a democratic army.

This correspondent does not pretend to know to what extent anti-democratic ideas have corroded officer personnel, or to know all the answers in terms of what should be done about it. One welcome step that is already being taken is the weeding out of some of the older officers who have lost their grip and their usefulness. Some of the worst brass hats are no doubt to be found in this group. It seems equally obvious that something should be done about manuals of the type issued by the Second Army, about Jim Crowism, about the type of senseless discipline that can only breed bitterness, about higher pay for soldiers, about providing more educational and recreational facilities. Above all there seems to be an imperative need for a careful survey of the whole problem by the President and his closest advisers.

ADAM LAPIN.

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INSIDE BRITAIN'S WAR FACTORIES

The production conferences in the country's workshops. New spirit and efficiency. How the traitors and tricksters are being inspired by certain Washington senators.

London (by cable).

BY THE time you read this, delegates to the British Trades Union Congress will be preparing to leave for Edinburgh to attend their annual congress, which may prove of immediate and historic importance. The congress opens September 1, and it opens after six weeks of such an upheaval in British factories and in the trade union world as has not been seen for many years. As NEW MASSES readers know, for weeks I have been drawing attention to the fact that great and crucial developments of vital importance to the anti-Hitler war effort have been in progress in British factories. And in my opinion it is so important a fact that the American public should be fully informed about it.

This week, for the first time, this fact has broken into the British national press in a big way. The occasion was a sensational "production conference" in London, called by the National Council of Shop Stewards of Engineering and Allied Trades. As I have repeatedly pointed out in these dispatches, it is the shop stewards who have been taking the lead in the tremendous new movement within British war industry. As a matter of fact, the London conference was only one of many "production conferences" which have been either held or are about to be held in many industrial areas. In London itself there had already been a somewhat similar though rather smaller shop stewards' conference called by the former editorial board of the London *Daily Worker*. At the most recent conference 200 delegates from basic arms factories were present, representing approximately 200,000 key engineers. If you wanted to see the men who really make the wheels go around in Britain, here they were. If you wanted to see the muscles, as it were, of Britain's war effort, you had only to look around. And the striking thing is—coming simultaneously with Churchill's return and the resultant "activization" in high places to which I referred last week—that for the first time the press has been compelled to recognize this as something new and something big—very big. The *Financial News*, the leading City organ owned by Brendan Bracken, Minister of Information, reported on this conference as follows:

"The fact that a changed atmosphere has begun to sweep through the factories and workshops of the country in recent weeks is insufficiently appreciated, and it is to be hoped that the government departments concerned will take steps to obtain a full report of this and other evidences of the change. The entry into the war of Russia, with her large and effective land army, has brought about a transformation of military strategy. It is now becoming equally clear that the new situation demands a similar change in industrial strategy. The prospect of early victory held

The Grain the Nazis Wanted

Moscow (by cable).

ACCORDING to even the most moderate estimates, the state and collective farms of the USSR have grown more than 131,000,000 tons of grain this year. It may already be stated with every confidence that the high yields of 1937 will be left far behind. Testifying to this, are excellent yields that have been reported from the Kuban, Kazakhstan, and Stalingrad regions, the Voronezh region, and the Ukraine, Altai, and many other districts. The winter grain crops are equally good in the Moscow district and the Altai region. Corn crops are exceptionally good this year. High yields of sugar beets may be expected in most beet-growing districts. Potatoes are also maturing rapidly.

From an agricultural point of view, this year will be remembered for the peculiar course taken by the weather during the spring and early summer. Cold weather prevailed over a considerable part of the USSR not only during April, but also during May and the first part of June. Only early sowing regions—Central Asia, the North Caucasus, and the southern Ukraine—were able to complete planting before the advent of cold weather which retarded the development of crops even in these parts. Sowing was delayed in all other parts of the Soviet Union for ten, fifteen, and even twenty days.

Grave doubts prevailed in May and June regarding the ripening of the summer crops. Hot weather in July, however, did much to improve the situation. As a result, harvesting proceeded considerably earlier than formerly anticipated.

Grain harvesting is steadily moving northward. The first days of August saw reaping begin in many districts north of the Black Earth zone. Grain was already being gathered at the end of last month in the Gomel district, in Byelo-Russia, the Kuibyshev, Ckalov, and Gorky regions, in the Volga area, and in the Tatar republic. In the North it is reported that harvesting has begun in both the northern and southern parts of the Ivanovo region. A start on harvesting winter wheat was made in the Moscow region on August 4, on the fields of the Timiryazev Agricultural Academy. The rye harvesting began on August 3 in several regions of Altai in the East. Grain from the new crop is already being delivered to the state elevators. Rye is also being harvested in some parts along the Pacific coast.

It is gratifying to note that difficulties arising from wartime conditions have been successfully overcome in the countryside. Excellent crops are being harvested rapidly and without loss. Women are replacing tractor drivers and combine operators who left for the front. In the Stalingrad region alone, over 10,000 more women collective farmers have already learned to operate these machines. The urban population of the countryside is doing its bit to bring in the harvest. Workers, students, and housewives are working shoulder to shoulder with collective farmers and state farm workers.

Fieldwork is in progress from sunrise to sunset. As a result of this, heroic harvesting has been completed in many southern districts of the country much earlier than last year. All grain had been gathered in the Zaporozhye region, the southern Ukraine, and in Kuban, by August first. Crimea completed reaping two weeks earlier than last year. Determined to bring in the harvest in the shortest possible time, the collective farmers are employing all available equipment and power. The simplest machines and implements appear on fields everywhere side by side with combines. Crops reaped by ordinary machines are being bound immediately in sheaves, and threshers are working day and night. It should not be thought, however, that combines are not being used to the utmost. The proportion of combine harvesting has been particularly high, for example, in southern districts.

The task for the current autumn is to complete the harvest as rapidly and with as little loss as possible. All crops grown on the country's fields are being gathered in and stored in good time. The speedy, efficient harvesting of this year's excellent crops will undoubtedly play no small part in the destruction of the fascist invader.

I. V. YAKUSHKIN.

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out by the possibility of a war against Hitler on two fronts seems to have wrought a transformation in the mood of the personnel of the industrial front. Speaker after speaker at the conference," the *Financial News* goes on to say, "made clear the workers' readiness to forego privileges, provided they were only given the opportunity, through more efficient workshop organization, to turn out more arms. Among the concrete proposals for contributions which the workers themselves could directly make to the war effort were: establishing a minimum basis of overtime working for every employee, collective discipline against bad timekeeping, and the elimination of inefficient workers, especially in key posts. . . . The whole conference concentrated on the vital issue of how to secure higher output particularly through more efficient management. . . . It was quite clear that the new spirit glowed most brightly in shops where trade unionism was strongest. . . . It would appear that a low level of trade union organization is now a positive deterrent to increased production."

One speaker at the conference, head of shop stewards in one of the biggest London war factories, said: "Today marks the end of an era, and the opening up of a new epoch. This meeting may be historic. On our deliberations here may depend the future of the British people. The lead for getting increased production has got to come from us, the men and women who are active in the workshops. The drive for production, decent food, adequate transport, and housing facilities, is our responsibility and privilege. This gathering will start something that will sweep the imagination of every worker in the country, surprise the employers and the government by its strength, and create hope again in the hearts of the people. It will help America to understand our determination and to give us her greater assistance."

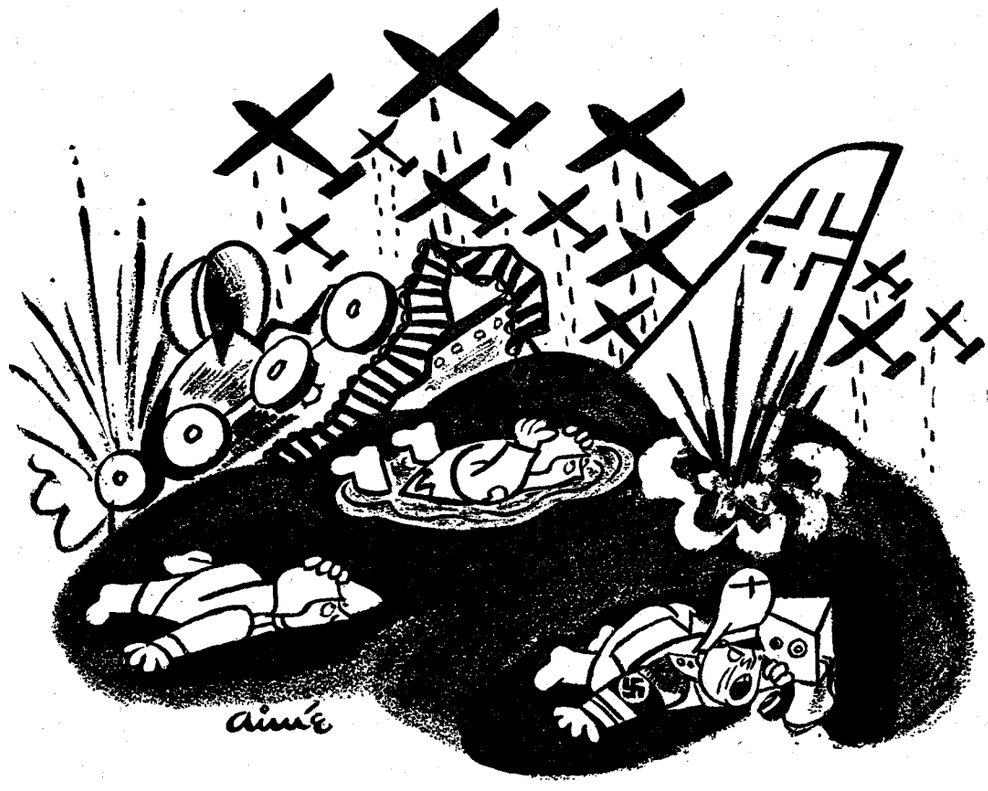
Another shop steward in an equally key position declared: "When we come up against criminal mismanagement that reduces production by two-thirds and throws idle those skilled hands, we are angry. But anger is not enough. We must insist upon taking our rightful place as craftsmen alongside the employers in the management of industry. We know that we can double production."

Now those quotations pretty well sum up the new background against which the Trades Union Congress will be meeting in Edinburgh September 1. Whether the congress will fully and energetically reflect that great new spirit in workshops remains to be seen. It is a fact that the new demands for increased production, demands for better cooperation between workers and management, are coming above all from the most strongly organized factories. It is equally true that because these are factories wherein Communists are most active in the leadership of workers, there have been in the past somewhat uneasy relations between these shop stewards and some of the "old guard" of the Trades Union Congress and Transport House. The thing that will be seen soon is just how fast the new spirit, the new urgency, the new realization of the immense dangers and equally immense possibilities ahead, can inspire the whole trade union movement. Sooner or later it will happen. But time is vital. The question is how long will it take? Part of the answer to that question will be heard at Edinburgh. It is clear that if the Edinburgh congress were really conducted in the spirit of the National Council of Shop Stewards Conference, the whole British war effort in the factories would take almost immediately a bound forward—a bound equivalent to a major military victory with incalculable effects upon the whole balance of the war.

MORE IMMEDIATELY it has to be understood that these developments are vital. Everything else depends upon them. No second front can be sustained, not even the British end of the new common front in Iran, without them. And of course the longer it takes to get production speeded up here, the longer it will take to batter down the opposition of the "Do nothing" and "Don't help Stalin" saboteurs of the people's war effort. Make no mistake. The extreme Right is active here. Only this week the magazine *Truth,* whose editor has just been publicly lashed in a British court of justice for anti-Semitism, and which has or had until very recently, fairly close connections with the central office of the Conservative Party, has come out with a veiled appeal for a negotiated peace as an alternative to the maximum use of British forces in support of the Soviet Union.

It must be remarked that every traitor and trickster in the country is eagerly utilizing statements of certain senators in Washington who would rather see Hitler in Kiev and London, than support Roosevelt and Churchill and assist the Red Army. We see here the preposterous paradox of the men from the Middlewest and other grass roots of America who believe themselves the champions of the common people against plutocracy, now unconsciously allied with the most virulently reactionary aristocrats, landowners, and stock exchange swindlers in Europe, entangled in the political maneuvers of the great finance trust of Berlin, Essen, and Paris, plus their underground adherents in London. Churchill's speech is a guarantee that he and those who are with him—and there are mighty millions of them here—will stand against the British Quislings and all who seek to give them aid and comfort. And the shop stewards' conference is the guarantee that the Quislings will be discomfited. But speed and still more speed is still the central theme. When Herbert Morrison, British Home Secretary, himself admits that we are still not catching up fully on industrial production in German-occupied Europe, the gravity and the urgency of the situation must surely be clear to all.

CLAUDE COCKBURN.



"But listen, mein Fuehrer, we are on the road to Moscow!"

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THE MEANING OF IRAN

Why the Anglo-Soviet armies moved. The extent of Nazi penetration. Significance of Molotov's note. The policy of Riza Shah. An editorial article.

THE joint Anglo-Soviet occupation of Iran is in the first place a terrific kick in the teeth for Adolph Hitler. It drives home the fact that he is now dealing with strong, tough-minded, realistic opponents, men who know from hard experience that if you molly-coddle the fascists, they invariably step on your face. The occupation of Iran represents the first concrete fulfillment of the Anglo-Soviet alliance of July 12. It was that alliance which restored the initiative to the anti-fascist world; last week's action in the Middle East highlights the fact that in the ruthless struggle which faces us, the anti-fascist forces are increasingly gaining the initiative whereas the fascist forces are losing it. Hitler is more and more compelled to face issues and situations created for him; he is less and less able, as in the bitter years gone by, to force the anti-fascist world on the defensive. Of course, the Soviets never relinquished the initiative in their own dealings with Hitler, and the secret of their foreign policy lay precisely in its firmness. But the point is that the USSR no longer stands alone.

The issue in Iran is simple, and ought not cause any of the confusion that accompanied, for example, the events in Finland a year and a half ago. Molotov's note to the Iranian minister, a classic for its straightforwardness and painstaking detail, tells the whole story. He names the names of German agents, who have made their way into "important official posts in over fifty Iranian departments" . . . to sow "unrest and disorders in Iran" . . . and "provoke Iran against the USSR." He gives the facts and dates of numerous attempts to smuggle arms into Baku, of espionage in Azerbaidjan, all of which "in the crudest and grossest manner trampled on the elementary requirements of respect for the sovereignty of Iran" and converted it into the scene of "preparations for a military attack on the USSR." When, after protests, the Iranian government declined to do anything in the matter, Britain and the Soviet Union took it upon themselves to do so.

Most impressive of all in Molotov's declaration is his emphasis on the historic friendship of the USSR and Iran. He gives all the details of how the Soviet government, from the outset, nullified the czarist concessions, returned control of telegraph and railway lines, the docks and banks belonging to czarist nationals to the Iranian government. Molotov emphasizes moreover that by Article Six of the Soviet-Persian non-aggression pact, the USSR always had the right "to take the necessary military measures in the interests of self-defense" should a "third party" endeavor to "convert the territory of Persia into a base for military hostilities against Russia." And if any assurances on this score were needed, both the British and Soviet notes underline that the Allied troops would withdraw from Iran when the danger had passed.

A GLANCE at the map will show the strategic importance of Iran, bordering on India and the Indian Ocean on the one hand, and the Caspian and Soviet Caucasus on the other —with Turkey and the entire Arab littoral to the West. Obviously, the Nazi offensive into the Ukraine, as well as German negotiations with Turkey, underscore the growing possibility that Hitler might establish himself in between the Soviet oil fields and the wealthy oil reserves on Iranian soil. Hitler could gain a real pincer from the northern and southern shores of the Black Sea, and he might be able to fortify himself for a long war with the oil of Iraq, which produced some 27,000,000 barrels in 1940, and the oil of Iran, whose production exceeded 60,000,000 barrels. The proverbial ounce of prevention would save many pounds—and millions of rubles, not to mention lives later on. In the immediate and larger strategy of the war, it was a vital move.

Since February 1921, Iran has been governed by the strong hand of Riza Shah Pahlevi, once an officer in the czarist Cossack armies, who has emulated Kemal Ataturk to the west in his devotion to Iranian nationalism. Riza Shah, despite his own anti-Bolshevism, depended on the friendship of the USSR in trade and other matters in the early twenties, especially in his effort to get the British armed forces, which had occupied most of Persia, off his soil. He carried through many important reforms, guarded the sovereignty of his country jealously.

The British were a major factor in Iranian life, but the Germans had never reconciled themselves to the loss of their position in this strategic country. With the resurgence of German capitalism under Hitler, its businessmen became extremely active, and whereas in 1934 they had been supplying a third of Iran's imports, by 1940 they were supplying more than fifty percent. German bankers had acted as godfathers at the inauguration of the Iranian national bank; German instructors dominated the agricultural college at Teheran. German businessmen were able to offer their goods at lower prices than their competitors, the difference being paid by Hitler from the onerous tax burden on the German masses. The *Lufthansa* planes, with swastika under wing, made regular flights from Berlin to Athens to Rhodes to Bagdad, and stopped off at Teheran on the way to the Afghan capital, Kabul. And significantly enough, the chairman of the *Lufthansa* was Herr von Strauss, the same gentleman who headed the notorious Berlin-to-Bagdad railway project thirty-five years ago. He became the vice president of the Reichstag under Hitler, and typifies the continuity of imperialist interest in Wilhelm's and Hitler's Reich.

But as in the Balkans, trade facilitated Nazi political strategy. And with every turbine, railway car, dredging machine, and textile loom Nazi agents disguised as technicians and engineers arrived at Iran. Some London figures place their number at 25,000, which is probably too high; the Iranian minister in Washington says that there were only six or seven hundred German nationals in Iran which is ridiculously low. There must have been thousands, worming their way into strategic administrative and economic positions, an alarming phenomenon in a country of some 15,000,000 tribesmen, peasants, artisans. Some two weeks ago, reports came of an attempted putsch against the Shah, inspired by Nazi agents in connivance with several disgruntled military chieftains. After repeated remonstrance, the USSR and Britain agreed that the Shah was balancing himself all too cleverly among opposing forces. These were no times for rope tricks.

WHAT ARE the implications and consequences of this development? At this writing, it is impossible to say whether there will be substantial resistance by the Iranian armies, what the Shah will do, or what the Nazis can accomplish by sabotage and intrigue. Irrespective of the military problems involved, some things are clear:

First, a physical contact has at last been created between Soviet and British armed forces. It is true of course that the British action appears qualified by the fact that they are defending their empire proper, and have not yet attacked Hitler on the continent where his energies would be most directly diverted. It has been suggested that this is a "common rear" rather than a "common front." Nevertheless, this association of British and Soviet troops is symbolic and of enduring importance.

Second, the railway line from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian now becomes a vital connecting artery of Soviet-British communications. In an early editorial, NEW MASSES pointed out that this rail line was perhaps the most feasible way of getting supplies from the British empire to the fighting fronts. Evidently President Roosevelt's decision to permit the direct flight of American planes via Africa to the Near East fits in with an Anglo-American general plan to get supplies up the Persian railway—American supplies as well as British.

Third, Hitler has now been blocked from the remaining sources of oil, unless he wishes to violate Turkish neutrality and divert huge

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TURNING POINT FOR THE WORLD

Mankind's future, R. Palme Dutt writes, has been "brought on to the battlefield." On June 22 fascism began its "supreme gamble." The alignment of world forces in the titanic conflict.

MUNICH has been avenged even in the hour of its seeming victory. The conspirators of Munich built up the military power of German fascism, and shattered the bastions of peace, hoping to turn that military power against the Soviet Union. Thereby they let loose a different war. Thanks to their handiwork, which led first to the destruction of the liberties of the other European nations, and then to the most dire peril of the British people, the long-planned criminal offensive of Nazi Germany against the Soviet Union has at length been let loose. The Soviet people, who could have led the world in peace, while holding fascism in check, had their policy been followed, have now, because of the refusal of their policy, to face the bloodiest ordeal. In place of the bloodless victories of the peace front, they have now the grimmer task to show the world how to fight and defeat fascism, that monster begotten of capitalist reaction and intrigue, which the social and political corruption of the ruling structure in all the capitalist countries first unchained and allowed to ravage the world, and then proved incapable to master. In unity with the peoples of all countries, they and we together will accomplish this task.

BUT THIS CLIMAX toward which the entire policy of the Munichites was directed, and for the sake of which they were prepared to sacrifice the interests of their peoples, has come about under very different conditions from their original dream. The launching of the offensive of Nazi Germany against the Soviet Union, which should have represented the highest point of victory of the whole program the sponsors of Munich intended to achieve, has instead led to the victory of the very program they intended to destroy. The launching of the offensive of Nazi Germany against the Soviet Union, in place of being followed by the Munichite dream of the united front of world reaction, has been followed by the British-Soviet pact of mutual aid and the growing unity of the British, American, Soviet, and Chinese peoples in the common cause of national freedom and defense against aggression. This is the positive achievement which shows the path of hope and confidence in the present grave hour.

We still have to be prepared to go through heavy trials. We have to be prepared for new sharp turns in the present complex situation. But the path is step by step opening out, across all obstacles, for the common victory of the peoples. The logic of history is defeating and will defeat the logic of counter-revolution.

World history always works itself out with a greater richness and complexity, with more twists and turns than even the most powerful political insight, the insight of the great masters of Marxism, could attempt to plot out beforehand in detail. In the hour of Munich, when such critical alternatives opened out before the world, none could have attempted to lay down with certainty beforehand the precise concrete form in which those alternatives would finally work themselves out.

At that turning point the immediate visible alternatives proclaimed themselves in three main forms: the victory at the eleventh hour of the peace front and the checking of fascism; the victory of the policy of Munich and the launching of combined counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union; or the third alternative, against which the Marxist supporters of the peace front gave the most explicit warning, that the refusal of the peace front by the Western powers would give rise, not to the intended war of the combined counter-revolutionary front against the Soviet Union, but to the Nazi offensive to the West and the consequent outbreak of imperialist war in Western and Central Europe. These were in fact the immediate alternatives between which the event revealed the final choice, consequent on the strength of the Soviet Union and the weakness of the popular democratic forces in the West.

But who at that time could have ventured to foretell that, when the refusal of the peace front had in fact led within less than one year to the outbreak of imperialist war in Western and Central Europe, the very development and consequences of that imperialist war should give rise to a situation in which, at the moment of the launching of the Nazi offensive against the Soviet Union, the alternative common front against fascism should at last be formed in the midst of war? Such has been the final working out to date of the alternatives which opened at Munich.

SHARP TURNS and changes are increasingly characteristic of the modern international situation. They are a symptom of the extreme instability and breakup of the old order, and especially of the complications resulting from the parallel development of the imperialist antagonisms for the redivision of the world, alongside the existence and growing strength of the new type of state which is outside the system of imperialism and represents the interests of advancing humanity and the future world order. The problems confronting the ruling classes in all countries are daily more acute. In the present world situation, with the growing social and political stress within the old states and empires, there can be no stability. Ceaseless sharp turns of policy must inevitably be expected, as the leaders of imperialism strive to cleave out a way from their dilemmas, now in this direction, now in that.

In the broadest historical sense the avenues of escape are narrowing for world imperialism. For over a quarter of a century, through the first world war, through Versailles, through the world economic crisis, through fascism, through Munich, through the second world war, imperialism has been drawing the noose tighter around its neck, and, with each twist and turn to extricate itself, adds a new knot. The forces on our side, the forces of awakening humanity, are growing in strength, are gathering and advancing to that unity which will ensure victory. But in terms of immediate power, of states, of resources, of armies, of organization, the balance is still overwhelmingly on the side of imperialism.

Therefore the whole present period requires, more than ever before in the history of the working class movement, the utmost skill of leadership, tactical speed, elasticity, boldness of initiative, and ability to maneuver, in order to meet each turn and new situation with a corresponding policy, to prevent any decisive unfavorable combination of forces, and to secure at each point the most favorable combination of forces at the given moment from the standpoint of the interests of the working class and the future of human liberation.

Only the most superficial and naive spectators are capable of seeing in these sharp changes of the world situation and the policy of the ruling classes, and the consequent sharp changes which the policy of the working class must carry through in order to meet each new objective situation, not the demonstration of the instability of imperialist relations and of the correctness of the policy of Marxism, but the triumphant proof in their eyes of the instability of Marxism. The old parrot cry of "somersaults" is still heard from a few irresponsible critics against the Communist Party. It appears that the Communist Party is accused of "somersaults" because it meets changes in the objective situation with corresponding changes in its policy. A party which failed to do this would not be a Marxist party.

This is so elementary that it is painful to need to waste any space in pointing it out. The accusation is as old as Marxism (e.g., the controversy over Marx's reversal of attitude in relation to the successive stages of the Franco-German War of 1870-71). The Bolsheviks at one time denounced a pact with the Liberal Cadets, and at another time made such a pact. In the summer of 1917 they demanded the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, and in the beginning of 1918 dispersed it by force. In the autumn of 1917 they denounced

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Rodzianko's intrigues for a peace with the kaiser, and in the spring of 1918 they signed a peace with the kaiser. Every one of these turns raised a howl from their liberal critics all over the world against their "inconsistency" and "unprincipled opportunism." History has proved the correctness of these turns.

It is obvious to every observer that the present international situation is exceptionally full of extremely sharp turns, corresponding to the extreme disorganization of all capitalist relations, which are by no means finished. Only a little over a year ago the British and French governments were actively promoting interventionist war against the Soviet Union; they were dispatching planes and guns to fascist Finland for use against the Soviet Union; they had prepared expeditionary forces to send, and would have sent them had not the collapse of the Mannerheim Line defeated their plans. Germany was at this time maintaining formal, friendly relations with the Soviet Union. Today the German rulers are leading the most violent aggressive war in history against the Soviet Union. The British government has signed a pact of mutual aid and alliance with the Soviet Union.

Is not this a basic change in the international situation and the relations of the powers? Is it not obvious that the policy of an intelligent party must change with these changes in the situation, if it is to be really consistent? To demand the same policy in two exactly opposite situations would be the real inconsistency. These myopic critics see the fly and miss the elephant; they see the switch in the policy of the Communist Party, and ignore the switch in the international situation which has called it forth. They would accuse the thermometer of being inconsistent because it registers heat in summer and cold in winter.

A little over a year ago the official governmental apologia, *The British Case,* written by Lord Lloyd with a preface by Lord Halifax, accused Hitler of the "supreme betrayal" because he had signed a pact of non-aggression with the Soviet Union. Today Hitler is accusing the British government of the "supreme betrayal" because it has signed a pact of mutual aid and alliance with the Soviet Union. Is it not clear that there is here a complete reversal in the relations of forces? A little over a year ago Mannerheim and Tanner were held up as the darlings of Western democracy and the Second International, and the Soviet strategic action for the protection of Leningrad was denounced as bloodstained aggression. Today these "heroes" are seen in their true colors, and the justice of the Soviet action is more widely understood.

At that time Stalin was denounced by the Labor Party, in its pamphlet on Finland, as "the Red Czar . . . the executor of the traditional imperialism of Czarist Russia . . . an alien and powerful despot . . . gangster . . . the real depth of the iniquity of M. Joseph Stalin is still unknown." Now the *Daily Herald,* the organ of the Labor Party, declares: "Three great figures lead mankind in the struggle to defend human freedom: Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt." No one in his senses would dream in this moment of supreme crisis and common struggle of launching an attack against the Labor Party on the basis of this change of estimation, or seek to waste time accusing the Labor Party of "somersaults." The only sensible question at the present moment is not whether there has been a change in policy to meet a change in the situation, but: Is the estimate of the situation correct? Is the policy put forward to meet it correct and adequate?

The war crisis, which has continuously developed and extended to its highest climax, has passed through three main phases of development, each with its distinctive characteristics, and each with its consequent policy for the working class and for the peoples involved.

The first phase, of preparation, during which the world passed imperceptibly, without a sharp distinguishing margin, from peace into war, through a series of extending localized conflicts, into what became in fact by its later stages already possible to be characterized as the second imperialist war, developed from the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in the autumn of 1931 to the Anglo-French declaration of war on Germany in the autumn of 1939. During this phase the initiative was in the hands of the challenging groups of fascist powers—Germany, Italy, and Japan—who, linked together in what eventually took the form of the "anti-Comintern pact," carried forward their aggressive offensive for the new division of the world at the expense of the non-fascist imperialist powers in possession, Britain, France, and the United States. These powers, however, in place of opposing this offensive, assisted and encouraged it, and in every way built up the strength of fascism, conniving at every illegality and aggression, handing it new victims, breaking down the limitations of Versailles and shattering the peace system constructed from the last war, because they hoped to see the offensive of fascism eventually turned against the Soviet Union. This was the Chamberlain policy which reached its height at Munich and its final fiasco with the Soviet-German non-aggression pact.

DURING THIS PHASE the task of the working class and democratic movement was to build up the strongest common front, both within each country, internationally, and on the basis of a coalition of states with the Soviet Union for the defense of peace against aggression—or peace front—to check the offensive of fascism and war, prevent its advance to general war, and thus win time for the working class and popular forces in all countries to carry forward their struggle, in conditions of peace, to solve the basic social problems at the root of the crisis, which would otherwise inevitably sooner or later give rise to imperialist war.

Great struggles were carried forward along this line, in unity with the Chinese, Abyssinian, and Spanish peoples, through the People's Front in France and the Franco-Soviet pact, for the People's Front in Britain and the Anglo-Soviet pact. The Soviet Union conducted through these years a diplomatic campaign, the initiative and statesmanship of which won universal admiration, at the same time as they were able to give material help to the Chinese people and to the Spanish people struggling for freedom.

Today it is recognized on all sides that, had this common front, for which the Soviet Union and the militant workers in all countries, together with wide sections of the progressive forces, fought during these critical years, been established in time, the war which broke out in 1939 need never have taken place, or, if it had none the less broken out, would have broken out under the most favorable conditions for the rapid success of the people's struggle.

The reactionary ruling class forces in the West, however, represented by Chamberlain, were too strong, and were able at that time to prevent this common front's being formed. The working class and democratic movement was not strong enough, or united enough, or able to find the necessary policy and leadership, or to establish common ground with the opposition minority in the ruling class, to be capable of defeating the dominant Munichite policy and the rule of Chamberlain.

Munich laid bare the reactionary plans for the four-power front against the Soviet Union. The complicated moves and counter-moves of the spring and summer of 1939 did not change the basic situation. Despite Lloyd George's warning, the ill-judged guarantees to Poland and Rumania were adopted without effective backing and without an understanding with the Soviet Union. As late as May 1939, the Soviet proposal for an Anglo-French-Soviet pact of mutual guarantee was explicitly rejected on principle, on the grounds that it would divide Europe into two camps. On the very edge of the outbreak of war in Europe, the Soviet military proposals for the combined defense of Poland were rejected.

The Soviet Union, after waiting until the extreme edge of danger to give time for the alternative forces in the West to assert themselves, acted decisively and defeated the counter-revolutionary plans of the Chamberlains and the Daladiers by the Soviet-German non-aggression pact, which succeeded in restricting the sphere of the imperialist war, now made inevitable through the refusal of the peace front, and won time for the Soviet Union to prepare and to strengthen its strategic position. The Munichites replied by declaring war on Nazi Germany, as soon as it had signed the pact of non-aggression with the Soviet Union and thus made clear that its offensive would be directed against their imperialist interests. The second phase of the war, the war of the Western European imperialist powers, began.

The second phase of the war, which opened in September 1939, and extended to June 1941, bore the character of full imperialist war, even though one camp was the camp of fascist Germany. This imperialist character of the war followed, not from the sentiments of the people in Britain and France, who were

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sincerely opposed to fascism and prepared to struggle for their national independence and independence of the European nations against the hated Nazi system, but from the very different aims and policy of the ruling classes, which held the power and the aims of which governed the character of the war. The dominant pro-fascist imperialists in Britain and France who entered on the war in the autumn of 1939 still stood for the same basic reactionary aims which they had pursued through Munich.

They saw the war, not as war against fascism, but as war for their imperialist interests against a rival imperialism, and the prelude to anti-Soviet war. For them the "supreme betrayal" of Nazism was not its war on democracy, but its peace with the socialist state. Even while all was quiet on the Western Front, they were actively promoting interventionist war against the Soviet Union. Their official press in the early months openly discussed the possibilities of "switching" the war. For this purpose they advocated a "revolution of the Right" in Germany. Neglecting all serious preparation or intensive rearmament measures during those critical early months, they dispatched the planes and guns, soon to be so sorely needed in the West, to fascist Finland for use against the Soviet Union, which was engaged in the most urgent military operations in preparation for the future conflict with Nazi Germany.

Such was the character of the first stage of the war of 1939, of the "frozen war," during which the ruling classes of the Western powers, especially in France, directed their main fire, not against the foreign enemy, but against the class enemy at home, against democracy, the Communists and working class organization, and against the Soviet Union.

AS THE DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES of this policy made themselves felt in the spring and summer of 1940, with the headlong Nazi advance and the enslavement of the nations of Western and Central Europe, a shift in the balance of relations within the ruling class followed. In France the Munichites and the most open supporters of fascism carried their policy to its consistent conclusion, threw open the front, disorganized the rear, and directly betrayed their country to the foreign enemy in order to maintain their class privileges, even as subordinate agents of a foreign power. In Britain the Munichite politicians were heavily discredited, but remained strongly entrenched in positions of power.

Direct governmental leadership passed into the hands of the alternative section of the ruling class, represented by Churchill, which had consistently stood for an active policy of opposition to Hitler, and which now opposed the tendencies of capitulation on the lines of France. The aims of this section, while opposed to the policies of capitulation to Hitler, were still the aims of imperialist war against a rival imperialism, and not of a people's war against fascism. They saw the war as a continuation of the war of 1914; their spokesmen, as in the notorious Vansittart pamphlet, insisted that the war was directed, not only against the Nazi rulers, but against the German people; they proclaimed the aim of a super-Versailles which should impose upon the German people for generations even more onerous terms than the Versailles Treaty, whose impositions had sown the seeds for Hitler. Their strategy for victory was based on the alliance with American imperialism, while reactionary influences continuously obstructed every attempt to establish closer relations with the Soviet Union. This policy led to the isolation of the British people from the dynamic forces of the European peoples struggling against fascism, and from the Soviet Union, while involving them in increasingly heavy subordination, in consequence of this isolation, to American finance-capital.

It held out the prospect of prolonged, extended, and destructive imperialist war, developing over many years and reaching toward an imperialist treaty which would sow the seeds of new war. Thus, while the interests of the British people were unalterably opposed to capitulation to Hitler and to the criminal counter-revolutionary policies of the pro-Hitler capitulators in the ruling class, the interests and aims of the alternative section of the ruling class did not correspond to the interests and aims of the people. The problem remained for the people to achieve a policy and leadership which should express their interests, defend them against fascism at home and abroad, and lead the way to a peace on the basis of the freedom of the peoples.

THE TASKS of the working class and democratic movement during this period, in this second phase of the war, consequent on the refusal of the peace front, corresponded to these new conditions. The basic task remained to build up the common front of the peoples, in unity with the Soviet Union, for the defense of their interests against fascism and reaction, for the real democratic anti-fascist struggle, and for the achievement of a durable peace which should be based on the freedom of the peoples. But the failure of the fight for the peace front and for the replacement of Chamberlain, and the consequent character of the war thereby launched, basically changed the conditions of this fight in the new phase.

There could be no question of applying the conceptions of the peace front to the very different war which had arisen through its refusal; of trailing behind the reactionary imperialist and anti-Soviet aims which were thinly concealed behind a show of anti-fascist slogans; of assisting the destruction of democracy and working class rights, as in France, which paved the way for the victory of Nazism and home fascism; or supporting the military measures against the Soviet Union which, as the outcome has shown, were an objective help to Nazi Germany. It was necessary to strike out an independent line, even initially against the stream, in order to make possible the conditions for a real common front of the peoples, in unity with the Soviet Union, for the protection of their interests and the victory of their aims.

In accordance with these tasks, the Communists and militant popular forces, in the first stage of the new phase of the war which opened in September 1939, during the "frozen war," while the war was still formal and before actual warfare had begun in Western Europe, strove for immediate peace. This striving was on the basis of the proposals put out in the Soviet-German declaration of September 28 for the opening of negotiations, as the best means for saving the peoples of Western Europe from being involved in war, before the irreparable had taken place, and thus winning back the possibility for building the effective common front of the peoples for the prevention of war.

This possibility finally disappeared with the

"Very clever indeed, Mr. McGirk, but I still want the rent."

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Michaels

"As long as it's a national Socialist Party. . . ."

extension of the war in Northern and Western Europe in the spring of 1940. The most dangerous situation now confronted the British people in consequence of the disastrous preceding policy. The British people were now facing in isolation the power of German fascism extending over all Western and Central Europe—the very situation against which the Communists had for many years given warning as the inevitable final outcome of the Chamberlain policy. The paramount question now became how to save the people in the face of this menacing situation.

It was necessary to combat and defeat the policies of capitulation advocated by that section of the ruling class which sought to emulate the example of Vichy, without allowing the struggle of the British people for their national independence to be sacrificed for reactionary imperialist aims which were contrary to the interests of that struggle. From May 1940 the Communists put forward in their concrete program in this situation how to save and defend the people. Against the policies of both sections of the ruling class, they put forward the proposals for a people's government, which should organize the democratic defense of the people against fascism at home or abroad; establish the closest unity with the Soviet Union and the peoples of Europe; put forward its proposals for a peace based on the freedom of the peoples; and, in the event of those proposals being refused, carry forward the struggle, no longer for imperialist aims, but for the aims of the liberation of the peoples.

The victory of a people's government in Britain, even if it had not been followed by an immediate corresponding victory of the popular forces in Germany, and even if it had in consequence been necessary for a period to continue the war, would have thus meant the transformation of the imperialist war into a people's war against fascism, conducted in closest association with the Soviet Union. This is in fact the transformation which has now taken place along another route, not by the change of government in Britain (for this the popular forces were not yet strong enough), but by the new situation resulting from the participation of the Soviet Union in the war and the consequent change in the character of the major forces now participating in and governing the character of the war.

THE VINDICATION of the role of the Soviet Union during these two critical years is now becoming clear even to the blindest. Had the attack of Nazi Germany on the Soviet Union taken place two years ago, in 1939, with Chamberlain and Daladier in power in Britain and France, it is easy to see with what speed the united counter-revolutionary front would have been formed against the Soviet Union. The Soviet-German non-aggression pact smashed these plans, and won for the Soviet Union two years for the most intensive preparation. It won time for the peoples in Western Europe to begin to rally their forces, and for

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a situation to be reached in which the united Munichite front could no longer be formed. It gave time for the Soviet Union to take the most active and boldest strategic measures to strengthen its entire Western frontier. Every one of these measures was at the time abused and denounced by pigmy critics, who remained not only indifferent to the interests of the liberated peoples in the territories concerned, but blind to the plain strategic significance of the steps taken in relation to the future struggle against German fascism. Today these critics may well give thanks on their knees that these steps were taken.

There are still some lingering voices which seek to refer to these two years of the most brilliant and audacious policy of the Soviet Union as "appeasement." Their guilty consciences over their own past lead them to seek to turn the plain facts upside down. The essence of the policy of appeasement is the successive surrender of interests, territories, or peoples, in the vain hope of evading or postponing a future conflict, with the final outcome of emerging weakened to face the conflict. The record of the Soviet Union during these two years was the exact opposite: Western Ukraine and Byelo-Russia; Finland and the protection of Leningrad; the Baltic States; Bessarabia. Every step was a strengthening of the position of the Soviet Union, an extension of its territory, a winning of new peoples to the USSR, a thrusting forward of its frontier, a delay to the aggressor.

It is only necessary to refer to Hitler's tirade endeavoring to justify his treacherous attack on the Soviet Union to note the continual refrain: "I gave way with a heavy heart . . . I had to be silent . . . I advised acquiescence in the Russian demands . . . this fresh Russian demand . . . continually renewed extortions . . . I remained silent because I was forced to do so," etc. A curious form of "appeasement" on the part of the Soviet Union. These two years of courageous, realistic, and farsighted policy of the Soviet Union prepared the way, not only to save the Soviet Union, but to save the peoples of the entire world, by helping to build up that strategic strength and readiness in the West which is today meeting the shock of the entire Nazi military machine, showing for the first time how to stand up to that assault, winning thereby hope and the possibility of action for every other people, and constituting the principal—in bitter truth, at present, the only—military barrier between the Nazi dreams of world conquest and the peoples of the world.

By their actions during these two years the Soviet people, assailed by thoughtless critics, were in fact performing as signal service to the world as any in all their proud history.

By the spring of this year it was clear that the decisive turning point of the war and of the whole development of the modern period was approaching. The war in Europe had reached a temporary deadlock. It was evident that the imperialist war could only go forward as world imperialist war between the Anglo-American coalition and Nazi Germany dominating Europe. But before the imperialists could embark with confidence on such a hazardous enterprise, they were faced with the problem of the independent power of the Soviet Union. As at every sharp turning point of the modern period, the question of the Soviet Union and of relations with the Soviet Union dominated the world situation. It was evident that a heavy and evenly balanced world imperialist conflict of the type contemplated would be likely to prove a protracted war, extending with a widening destructive sweep over a series of years, and leading to incalculable consequences for the whole existing social structure.

Already the movement of the peoples was beginning to rise in all countries. Especially the national movements of revolt were growing in Europe against the hated Nazi domination. The Nazi rulers were the most sharply conscious of the crucial problems with which they were faced. They could least afford to wait. Their military machine was mobilized at its highest point. They must go forward in extending aggression, or go down. They were directly faced with the rising national movements of revolt in Europe. They were acutely conscious of the contiguity of the Soviet Union on their borders, with its socialist peace policy and the advancing prosperity of its people contrasting with the situation of their own war-wracked and enslaved people and embittered subject nations.

It was from the Nazi ruling circles that the emissary went forth to the opposite ruling camp to try out the possibility of common ground for action against the Soviet Union. There were currents in both camps which sought the possibility of resolving the conflict on the basis of turning the war against the Soviet Union. But in fact the antagonism of imperialism over the new division of the world, with the forces now fully set in motion on both sides and the final trial of strength still unresolved, was too deep to permit of any such easy solution. The most critical point in modern imperialist development and in the life of the peoples was approaching. From April the Communists gave warning to be prepared for the most sharp and sudden turns in the international situation. On May 6 Stalin took over the direct leadership of the Soviet government—a change which bore the clearest signal, not only to the Soviet people, but to the international working class and the peoples of all countries, to recognize the seriousness of the situation and be prepared.

WHERE would the blow fall? What form would it take? Nazi Germany during these critical weeks was publicly concentrating its armed forces on the borders of the Soviet Union. Would Nazi Germany strike without prior agreement with Britain and the United States? This became the crucial question of the international situation. To this question Hess' voyage of exploration sought to provide the grounds for an answer. He was the physical embodiment of that old diplomatic term, a *ballon d'essai*. It was on May 10 that Hess landed in Britain to explore the possibilities of collaboration with reactionary ruling circles for the purpose of the proposed attack on the Soviet Union.

While Hess' reception showed that there undoubtedly existed influential reactionary elements prepared to consider such proposals, it also showed that, so far as the government was concerned, the proposals fell on stony ground. Why Churchill and the authorities deliberately chose to maintain a mysterious silence about Hess, when in fact the proposals had been turned down, remains officially unexplained. Was this silence, with its suggestion of some possible complicity, a trap to lure Hitler forward on his desperate enterprise with the hope of some possible eventual support, only to turn on him with the most positive counter-thrust as soon as he had embarked on it? Had some bright wit of British diplomacy devised the scheme to use Hess as a boomerang and to catch Hitler with his own anti-Soviet bait with which he had so often in the past gulled the British ruling class? Only future records will reveal the details of this episode.

What is important for present purposes is that Hess' voyage of exploration revealed that in fact the basis was lacking for such an agreement. Acceptance of Hess' proposals, in the existing weakened situation of Britain, would have been equivalent to acceptance of Nazi world hegemony by Britain. There was no road here. The deadlock continued. Only decisive action, in one direction or another, could break it.

On June 22 Hitler struck. Hitler gave the orders for "the greatest march in history"—against the Soviet Union. In the midst of the war which he had not yet won, Hitler took on a new enemy, the greatest military power which was alone capable of standing up to his own. Hitler delivered his treacherous attack on the Soviet Union, not only without a declaration of war, but without the pretense of raising first any issue of disagreement. This meant that the entire calculation was based on the lightning thrust. Hitler struck without any prior agreement with Britain and the United States. Hitler struck against the Soviet Union, while the war against the Anglo-American coalition was still on his hands. This meant that Hitler deliberately took on the possibility of the war on two fronts, which he had previously made it the main political and strategic lesson from the last war and from all German history to avoid, and which only two years before he had directed all his efforts to prevent. What considerations drove the Nazi rulers to carry through this reversal of their preceding policy and embark on an enterprise which inevitably placed in the scales the future existence of their regime?

First, strategic. Nazi Germany could not afford to wait and to see the gradual amassing of the strength and mobilization of the superior potential resources of the Anglo-American coalition, while the power of the Soviet Union remained unbroken in its rear. The only hope to escape from the net that

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was closing in became to seek by a lightning thrust to break the military power of the Soviet Union and then to turn to advance against Britain and the United States. Thus the attack on the Soviet Union is the decisive preliminary to the attack on every other people still unconquered by Nazism. The attack on the Soviet Union is the attack on the one effective military barrier which stands between the Nazi rulers and their dreams of world conquest. Thereby the attack on the Soviet Union is the attack on every people in the world.

The second series of considerations derived from the social-political situation. The advancing national movements of the subjugated peoples in Europe, who by no means intended to place their heads under the yoke of either imperialism but were beginning to look more and more toward the Soviet Union as the representative of the freedom of the peoples, as well as the growth of discontent in Germany among the working masses, confronted the Nazi rulers with sharp problems. Once again they sought to solve their dilemmas by violent action, by a thrust at the fountainhead, at the Soviet Union, which had already shown in relation to the Spanish and Chinese peoples its stand by peoples struggling for freedom, and by its example inspired all oppressed peoples with the hope of liberation. Thereby the attack on the Soviet Union is an attack on the national liberation movement of every people oppressed by fascism.

The third series of considerations was diplomatic. By the attack on the Soviet Union the Nazi rulers hoped to divide ruling class opinion in Britain and the United States, on the basis of an appeal to reactionary class sympathies; and by this means to paralyze or weaken their participation in the war, and to delay the entry of the United States into the war.

Of these considerations the most important were those of a strategic character. During the second phase of the war, critics and commentators in the Western countries all too often lost to view the world significance of the independent reserve power of the Soviet Union, which exercised its influence, and remained capable of exercising its influence with increasing effect as events developed, on the side of the interests of the peoples and against any and every form of reactionary world domination which might threaten to arise from the military fortunes of the conflict.

But Hitler understood this very well. When his legions overran Poland, and the Western powers remained passive and unable or unwilling to help, it was the Soviet armies that barred his further advance and liberated thirteen millions of people. As soon as the Nazi advance overran Western Europe in the spring and early summer of 1940, leading to a complete shift in the balance and the most acute danger for the British people, it was the Soviet forces whose presence on the Eastern frontiers of Germany restored the balance and really saved the British people.

In this connection Hitler's own statement with regard to the reason why he was unable to win the Battle of Britain and finally vanquish Britain in those critical months of the late summer and early autumn of 1940 is worthy of note:

"While our soldiers from May 10, 1940, onwards had been breaking the power of France and Britain in the west, the Russian military deployment on our eastern frontier was being continued to a more and more menacing extent. From August 1940 onwards I therefore considered it to be in the interests of the Reich no longer to permit our eastern provinces to remain unprotected in the face of this tremendous concentration of Bolshevik divisions. Thus came about the result intended by the British and Russian cooperation—namely, *the tying up of such powerful German forces in the east that the radical conclusion of the war in the west, particularly as regards aircraft, could no longer be vouched for by the German High Command.*" (Hitler's Proclamation, June 22, 1941.)

Thus the crucial role in the Battle of Britain was played by the Soviet Union, whose forces canceled out the otherwise overwhelming Nazi air superiority, enabled the RAF to stand up to the remaining Nazi air forces, and saved Britain from an annihilating assault. Today the British people will understand better the debt they owe to the Soviet people, not only at this moment, but also during these preceding two years. Thus the attack of Nazi Germany on the Soviet Union is in fact the attack on the main military barrier to its dreams of world conquest. With the attack of Nazi Germany on the Soviet Union the war passed from its second phase into the third phase, the war of German fascism for the enslavement of the world.

AS SOON as Nazi Germany launched its attack on the Soviet Union the critical question of the international situation became at once the attitude of Britain and the United States. Would the Nazi calculations to spread dissension in these countries play on anti-Soviet ideological sympathies, and thus divide them from the Soviet people, cut them off from the alliance which could save them, and paralyze them in the decisive world conflict, win any success? That the heart of the people would rally on the side of the Soviet people was certain. The last unofficial poll in the earlier months of 1939 had shown eighty-seven percent of the population in favor of an Anglo-Soviet pact, at a time when it was still being resisted by the British government. But would the understanding of the most far-sighted representatives of the ruling class equally recognize the common interests, overriding social and political differences, defeat the Nazi trap, and proclaim the common cause in the present struggle? To this question Churchill's broadcast of June 22 gave the emphatic answer. This was the speech which Stalin referred to as Churchill's "historic utterance." There followed on June 23 the declaration of Sumner Welles on behalf of the United States. On June 24 came the announcement by Eden of the agreement of the British and Soviet governments to cooperate on a reciprocal basis, followed by the exchange of missions, and finally the signing of the British-Soviet pact of mutual aid and alliance in July. Hitler had had his answer.

Sharp as was the reversal of policy of the Nazi rulers, who in the preceding years leading up to 1939 had devoted all their efforts, first by the collaboration with Chamberlain and then by the non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union, to prevent and avoid by every means the war on two fronts, and now in 1941 by their own action had plunged into the war on two fronts; no less sharp was the reversal of policy of the British ruling class, who in those same years had devoted all their efforts to promoting war of Nazi Germany on the Soviet Union, and now, when that war had broken out, had ranged themselves with the Soviet Union.

It was indeed an ironic commentary on the whole preceding policy of the Clivedenite lords and ladies and the pro-Hitler magnates of the City, who had ruled the roost during those years, who had applauded Chamberlain and denounced Churchill, who had acclaimed Hitler as their darling and their champion against Bolshevism, that now, when at last they were to witness their erstwhile knight and champion proceed on his so-called "anti-Bolshevik crusade," they should find themselves unable to accompany him; that, after they had for so many years been bilked by false promises and sacrificed so much to see the longed-for and constantly deferred war of Nazi Germany against the Soviet Union, now at last, when it broke out, they should find themselves compelled, under the leadership of the politician they had denounced, to march in a common front with the Soviet Union. Such was the answer of the event to the poisoned dreams of Munich.

WHAT LAY BEHIND this transformation? Two years of history. Two years of deepened crisis of British imperialism. Two years of bitter defeats and humiliations consequent on the whole preceding policy, the refusal of the Anglo-Soviet alliance and the resulting isolation and weakness. It is only necessary to recall the situation immediately preceding the new events, the debates in the House of Commons during May and June, the anxiety following the evacuation of Greece and Crete, the revelations of unpreparedness, the facts of production, the slowness of American aid, the dissensions, vacillations and alarms in the ruling class, the accusations of Petainism against leading political representatives, the new motto which had begun to find currency in the popular press that "we may lose the war," to recognize how critical was the situation to which the British people had been brought by the faults of their rulers. In this situation the Anglo-Soviet alliance was no longer a question of political controversy; it was an im-

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perative necessity forcing itself on the recognition of all; not a dissenting voice dared to make itself heard.

The Anglo-Soviet alliance came as a salvation and a new hope, inspiring new confidence in the people. Gone were the old days of grudging and patronizing recognition. The very existence of the British people is now bound up with this alliance. It would no doubt have been better if this understanding had come earlier; if it had come six years ago, when this alliance was first advocated by the Communist Party; if it had come five years ago, four years ago, three years ago, even two years ago, when it could still have prevented the present war.

But it may be that only the ruthless teaching of experience could have created this wide and general understanding. War is a harsh political school which compels its lessons to be learned quickly or not at all. The Anglo-Soviet alliance is based, not only on the deep friendship of the peoples, now strengthened by the sense of partnership in a common struggle against a hated and reactionary enemy, but also on the powerful immediate foundation of inescapable common interests in an hour of grave danger, when the greatest possible unity is indispensable for victory. This alliance must now become the rock and the anchor for the salvation of the British people, and be carried forward through the present days of trial to victory and to lay the basis for a better future.

For the British ruling class the Anglo-Soviet alliance is the expression of common interests in an urgent immediate struggle. In the calculations of a ruling class there is no room for sentiment; but there is room for the recognition of practical common interests. In isolation Britain is not able to defeat Nazi Germany, and is faced with the most acute immediate peril. American aid takes time to become effective, and the peril is immediate; further, American aid is bound up with onerous conditions in respect of the concessions, economic, political, and strategic, which have to be made. The Anglo-Soviet alliance strengthens the position of the British ruling class in relation to the American ruling class. Undoubtedly for the ruling class there are also ulterior calculations; and only the politically naive would be blind to them. They are well aware that the colossal conflict of all the forces of Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union weakens both, while their own forces and the American forces are temporarily immune; and they look forward to a future perspective in which the Anglo-American forces will be able to ensure those social and political conditions which they regard as representative of civilization and order, but on which the masses of the people and the nations oppressed by fascism will have other views when the time comes.

These issues of the future will be settled by the peoples and their power to settle them in their own interests will depend on the strength of their active struggle today. But these issues of the future must not be allowed to stand in the way of the maximum unity and maximum common effort of all forces opposed to Hitlerism in the present struggle, when every source of strength and every ally, irrespective of social and political outlook, is needed for the defeat of the common enemy.

The war of Nazi Germany on the Soviet Union and the British-Soviet alliance have transformed the world situation and the political situation in every country. Every issue needs now to be judged in the light of this supreme conflict. The second phase of the war, the reactionary war of the Western imperialist powers for the new division of the world has passed into the third phase of the war, the just war for the liberation of the peoples against German fascism. The imperialist rulers remain in power in Britain; they still oppress India and the colonial peoples; they maintain their class system in Britain; they still maintain their imperialist aims.

But the objective significance of their war against Hitler has now become a part of the just war represented by the Soviet Union in association with the peoples oppressed or menaced by fascism for liberation against fascism. This is the vital issue which is now the common concern of every people in the world, including the colonial peoples, who have still to win their own freedom, but who are equally and unconditionally interested in the victory of the Soviet Union and the defeat of fascism. The Soviet Union has no imperialist interests or aims; the Soviet Union has from the first day of the conflict made clear that it regards the war as war against the Nazi rulers, not against the German people; it has made clear that victory carries with it the liberation of all peoples oppressed by fascism. In this way the participation of the Soviet Union has transformed the character of the war, and opened the way to the participation of all the peoples oppressed by fascism, in the common struggle for their liberation, with the sure confidence that the strongest power which is taking part in the fighting will equally protect the interests of their liberation in the final settlement. The way is opened for the British people, fighting alongside the Soviet people, to range themselves for the same common aims of a peace based on the freedom of the peoples.

THE URGENT NEED now is full mobilization and active unity of all sections of the people for the fulfillment of the tasks of the common struggle with the Soviet people. We strive for the united national front of all sections of the people (not only of the Left anti-imperialist or pro-Soviet elements, but of all opposed to Hitler and supporting the pact) to drive forward the maximum effort in the joint war with the Soviet Union for the defeat of Hitler.

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The alliance needs to be made effective with the fullest strength of the British people. We cannot be satisfied with a situation in which one partner to the alliance is bearing the entire brunt of the fighting, while the other remains inactive in a military sense. We cannot be proud of a situation in which the Soviet Union in isolation is engaging nine-tenths of the military forces of Nazism, while the remaining tenth, containing mainly the older and invalid elements, is thinly spread over the occupied countries, and the entire might of the British empire, with sea power at its command, finds it beyond its strength to attempt to engage or even harry the tenth. That is a very unequal and one-sided alliance. As the terrific battle goes forward in the East, the question of the military second front becomes every day more pressing.

We need to combat the widespread passivity and complacency which is as fatal as it is short-sighted. We need to awaken the people to the urgent sense of their own peril, to the understanding that their fate depends on what is done now. The same spirit which animates the Soviet people, that spirit of invincible dynamic energy, unsparing common endeavor and single-minded purpose, overcoming every obstacle, needs to be emulated here. The disorganization of production cannot be tolerated, but, despite the limits of the existing structure of industry, needs to be combated with that burning urgency which can compel action even from the most lethargic and incompetent authorities.

All this can be accomplished only to the extent that the masses of the people themselves, and the organized workers in the first place, act, push, drive, and take the initiative, both politically and in the sphere of production, industry, and social organization. Within the broad national front the working class and democratic movement must necessarily be the driving force; the need for working class unity and the revived activity of the labor organizations is greater than ever. It is necessary to be prepared for the sharpest issues of every type in front. The present situation, in which every day is carrying the fate of all peoples in the balance, calls for the greatest effort.

The strength of the initial stand of the Soviet people against the onslaught of the Nazi military machine has given rise to the most dangerous false confidence and illusions here. Our concern and responsibility is to see that the people of this country do their full part and pull their full weight in the common alliance. This is the single practical task which governs every activity today.

R. PALME DUTT.

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THE AUTO WORKERS MEET

The delegates to the UAW convention pledge a million members by 1945. A goal only unity can achieve. Bruce Minton's report on one of the most important labor meetings of the year.

IT WAS not merely the size of the United Automobile Workers that gave importance to the sixth convention, held at Buffalo. Here was the first large union to convene since the national defense program had got truly under way. The struggle against fascism had become the most urgent order of business; labor had the problem of orienting itself to take leadership in this fight, to give it maximum speed and power. Whatever program the UAW-CIO hammered out in convention would naturally be of immense significance.

The members of the UAW could point with justifiable pride to the union's record for the past year. The Ford Motor Co. finally had been forced to bargain collectively —and that was achieving something long considered "impossible." As recently as the end of 1936 the UAW-CIO was in swaddling clothes: but in its short history, it swept through the industry which had always boasted immunity to unionism, and by the time the convention met, not a single great corporation had failed to sign a collective bargaining contract. And still, much remained to be done: organization had by no means been completed in auto, and only small beginnings had been made in aircraft. The delegates set a goal for themselves of 1,000,000 members by 1945—to make the UAW the biggest international in the CIO, and more than that, the biggest union in the world.

Regrettably, at Buffalo the tendency was to pay scant attention to union problems. Instead, too much attention was concentrated on petty maneuverings for control of the union. It is true that throughout its brief existence, the UAW-CIO had been torn by bitter factionalism that retarded organization for two years and more, and actually menaced all the gains of the 1937 sitdown strikes. Finally in 1939 the UAW had thrown out Homer Martin, its first president, who looked upon the union as his personal property and who joined forces with the Lovestone-Trotzkyite cabal to sell the membership down the river to the employers.

The elimination of Martin and his clique did not sweep away all remnants of factionalism, a disease not easily overcome. For a time the struggle for power faded into the background (and immediately the union registered remarkable advances); recently, however, factionalism revived. Certainly its baleful influence helped in Buffalo to obscure more vital matters. In consequence, the convention was given to meandering down remote by-paths. Caucuses, reintroduced, according to charges, on a national scale by Walter Reuther, and engaged in also by his "opponents," gathered in hotel rooms and private halls; and far too many leaders put their energies into excoriating personal opponents.

Of course, stalling and intrigue made fine headlines in the press that "had the best interests of labor at heart." The editorial writers played up disruptive Red-baiting that constantly was injected into the deliberations by the stocky, red-headed Walter Reuther and his brother Victor, as well as by some of the so-called "progressives." Nor did the publicists report that the automobile workers found continual Red-baiting wearisome. Finally, Jack Montgomery from the West Coast (later elected to the international executive board) blurted out, "Every darned time certain people in this convention get put on the spot, they blame a guy named Stalin, every time. I don't know what it is. They justify their actions by trying to say he is responsible for them. I think we ought to seat him as a delegate if we are going to attack him."

To the great credit of President R. J. Thomas, he refused to have anything to do with these caucuses; at the beginning of the sessions he demanded the disbanding of power lobbies. He urged the delegates to give their attention to the pressing problems they were expected to act upon by the thousands back home in the shops, and not to waste their time on stratagems designed to steal a march on this group or that. In response to the request that something be done to facilitate caucus meetings, Thomas stated: "I hope the Arrangements Committee . . . cannot find a room to hold any caucuses in, either group." He added, "If I am president, I want to be the president of the whole union . . . I want to leave this convention with the support of all the workers in our union." And even though factional bickering consumed too much time, on at least many important questions, the good sense of the rank and file prevailed.

PRESIDENT THOMAS also deserves praise for cutting through inessentials during his opening address to emphasize the key issue confronting the union. "I personally favor, as far as I am concerned, material aid to Great Britain, Russia, and China. . . . I think all of us here have to do everything possible at this time to protect democracy. . . . And in our fight to save democracy against Adolph Hitler, we at the same time are not going to neglect the fight for democracy in our own country." This was the sentiment of the delegates in the resolution finally adopted. But the factionalists (the group following the Reuther brothers, and the group taking leadership from George Addes, secretary-treasurer of the union) gave the delegates little chance to discuss this major question. They had jockeyed the resolutions committee into holding back the report on this central issue until the very last moment. As a result, discussion was almost completely lacking. Herein, the factions committed their most grievous crime against the UAW and the labor movement. There is small doubt that had the convention given the fight against fascism its proper emphasis, the delegates would have urged a much more positive struggle against Hitler's war for world domination.

Despite shortcomings, the automobile workers did take a fundamentally correct stand against Hitlerism. Yet this position was marred by the convention's failure explicitly to dissociate the UAW from the dangerous isolationism of John L. Lewis. It was a weakness that no one specifically condemned Lewis' appeasing words or his association with the worst reactionaries — Hoover, Dawes, and Landon.

In one sense it could be said that the convention conveyed by indirection this opposition to Lewis' advocacy of appeasement. For the delegates gave a cue to the entire labor movement when they unanimously approved the motion to support Philip Murray for reelection as president of the CIO. Murray has repeatedly approved the administration's policy of all-out, full aid to the enemies of Hitler. The UAW, in backing the CIO president, also declared its intention of doing its utmost to smash fascism here and abroad.

The delegates broke through a slow start, through the constant circumlocutions, to lay down a program. In the interests of accuracy and to facilitate organization, the delegates changed the union's name from United Automobile Workers to "International Union, United Automobile, Aircraft, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW-CIO)." And having cleared the way for broad organizational campaigns, the delegates turned to difficult economic problems raised by the defense program.

As the basis of the union's program, the delegates unanimously endorsed the Murray Plan, calling for the formation of industry councils with labor granted representation and authority equal to that of management. It should be remembered that the Office of Production Management, busy yessing the big corporations, had struggled valiantly against such councils. Sidney Hillman had set up "advisory boards," to which labor was urged to send its spokesmen; but labor's advice was merely for the record, and the OPM paid not the slightest heed to it. The unions, and the UAW in particular, were thus prevented from exercising any direction over defense production. To change this setup would be a blow to the monopolists, who viewed the defense program as important only because it offered them new opportunities to plunder the public treasury, make enormous profits, and strengthen their stranglehold on produc-

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tion. The defense needs of the country in this crucial fight against fascism did not cut any ice.

This callous disregard for national safety and vital interests had already caused dislocation in the automobile industry. At the time of the convention, automobile production was threatened with a fifty percent curtailment in the coming year. No one could object to reducing the output of automobiles if the plants were used to supply defense equipment. What was criminal was that, according to current plans, factories would shut down and machines would lie idle because the industrialists refused to make changes in the plants permitting the manufacture of the sinews of defense. What was horrifying was that, because monopoly resisted the shift to defense production, a minimum of 200,000 trained workers would be doomed to unemployment at a time when the nation strained to render every aid to Great Britain and the Soviet Union, at a time when the nation had undertaken the immense task of providing material for a modern, mechanized American army. Instead of utilizing the experienced manpower available, the OPM's present tactics condemned strategic sections of the working class to breadlines rather than making sure their needed skill and energy were employed to build the country's defenses.

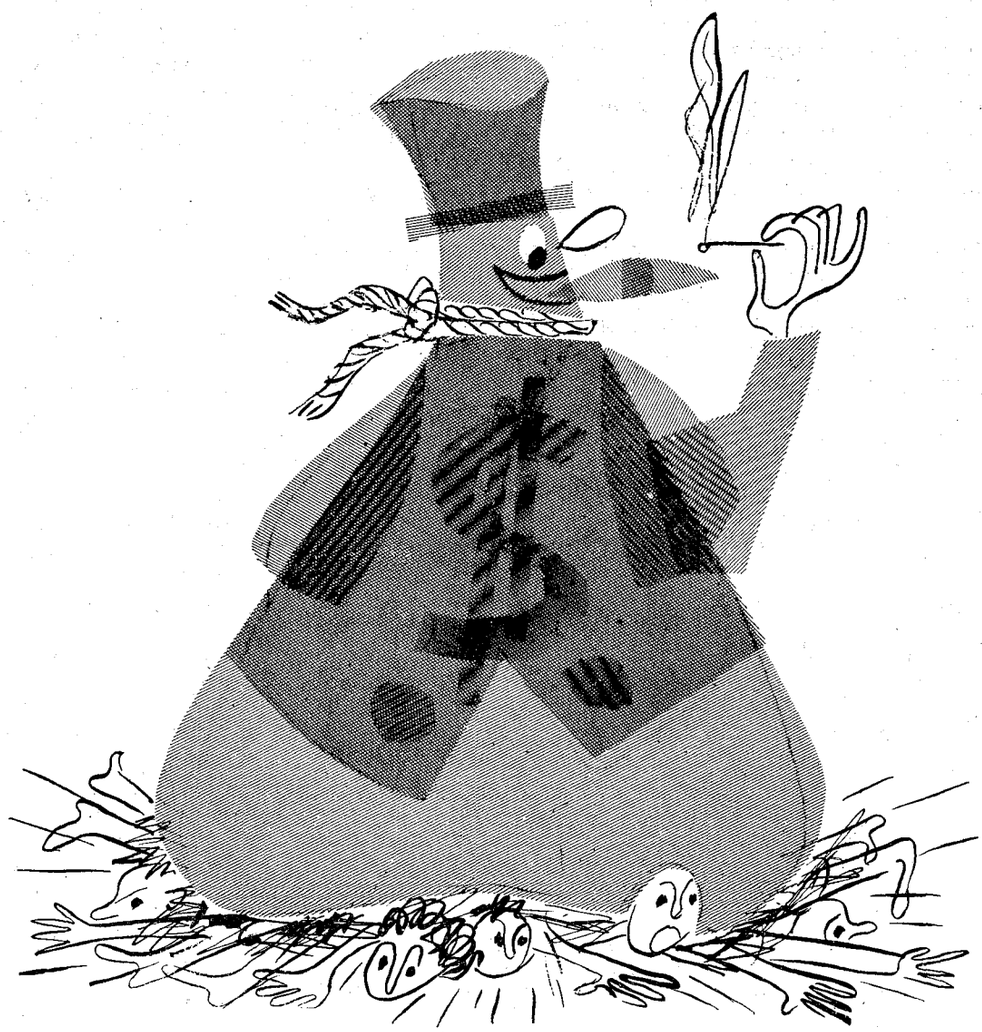
Why? Because William Knudsen and his OPM were busily echoing the robber barons' claim that there was insufficient steel—and letting things go at that. Yet only last fall when curtailment was broached, there existed in the United States a total melting and finishing equipment capable of turning out 5,920,000 net tons of steel that went unused. The Murray Plan would overcome such obvious waste by coordinating the productive apparatus of the entire industry. What was true of steel, moreover, was also true of copper, aluminum, and other materials of which there were claimed shortages. The plan would make sure that orders were distributed to small firms as well as to the giants. Monopoly, however, with OPM's backing, resisted the idea of spreading orders and constructing new plants—for fear that the production of sufficient amounts of steel would weaken monopoly's absolute dictatorship over industry. In addition, the great corporations not surprisingly feared labor's participation in management.

The UAW, in a ten-point proposal, demanded a joint conference of automobile management, labor, and government to work out plans to prevent dislocation and unemployment. It stressed the importance to allocate steel and other defense materials to relieve pressure on the automobile industry. It blasted plans for shutting down automobile plants when no provision had been made to use the labor power of those engaged in the manufacture of automobiles, when curtailment did not bring a corresponding increase of defense equipment. As President Thomas pointed out in his opening address, "I have said to representatives of government in Washington that the United Automobile worker is not adverse to national defense, and they are willing to work on material for national defense, they don't object to a cut in automobile production, provided jobs are given to our people and they are not forced to walk the streets." Furthermore, the union insisted that the wages and seniority status of automobile workers be protected during the shift.

On other fundamental issues, the convention adopted a forthright position. The delegates repudiated the principle of plant seizure in labor disputes; they condemned the use of troops in strikes; they pledged resistance to no-strike and other anti-labor legislation; they demanded the maintenance of wage standards that to some degree would meet the strain of rising living costs. Above all, they authorized assessments on the UAW membership for organizational drives, especially in the aircraft industry. They set forth a program of resistance to monopoly, of cooperation to raise the levels of defense production, not on the basis of providing ever greater profits for the few big corporations, but on the basis of adequate, coordinated effort that would assure all necessary materials for defense without at the same time pauperizing the working class.

This outlook directly flouted the pusillanimous course followed by the OPM. Organization of the aviation industry, for example, on the basis of contracts already obtained from Vultee and North American, was clearly a strong criticism of the OPM's attempts to force "cooperation" between the unions and big business—on big business' terms. The insistence on equal rights for, and no discrimination against, the Negro people was a slap at the OPM's record of keeping Negroes out of defense jobs. The demands for expanded WPA, for adequate federal housing projects, for old-age pensions and greater social security were fair warning that the UAW-CIO did not consider the defense of democracy an excuse to obliterate democracy at home. The automobile workers could not be diverted from their resolve to extend their militant flight for a militant union, as a means to mobilize ever stronger unity for the defense of the nation and for the destruction of Hitlerism.

IN THIS RESPECT, the convention laid down a sound program. Unfortunately, it spent a disproportionate amount of time quibbling over issues which in themselves presented little difficulty, but which were used as "tests" of strength by the various factions. Through-



Spreading the Tax Base

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out these harangues, President Thomas reiterated his appeal for unity. The only bright aspect was that in disputes arousing most talk—the Allis-Chalmers and North American Aviation "cases"—the majority of delegates got sick of arguments and cut through the fight for a "showdown" to settle matters with good sense.

To take Allis-Chalmers first. In the initial session, the convention unseated the delegation from the Milwaukee local after the Reuther group charged Harold Christoffel, president of the local, and his so-called "machine" of holding an undemocratic, corrupt, unconstitutional election for delegates. Red-baiting concealed all facts bearing on the charge. Out of the melee came the appointment of a committee to go to Milwaukee, there to conduct a "fair" election. But the committee was not without allegiance in the convention tug-of-war. It played the game by rushing back to Buffalo two days later with the report that Christoffel had refused to "cooperate." Again the delegates took command. After hearing wild charges against Christoffel—who had allegedly insulted the committee, the convention, and the entire world by calling them "evil names"—the demand arose on the floor that Christoffel, sitting in the gallery as an observer, be allowed to explain his side of the argument. Christoffel took the platform and his words made sense. The delegates scrapped the committee's report and ordered it (expanded from three to seven members) to return again to Milwaukee and to hold elections as instructed.

The supervised election resulted in a three-to-one victory for Christoffel and for every one of the delegates originally unseated. Red-baiting had backfired. The convention had cut through the cries of "democracy" and "constitutionalism" to discover that they were nothing more than a ruse to unseat delegates. Charges that the first election was rigged, proved completely false. Thereby, the auto workers prevented an attempt to use the failure of the Allis-Chalmers local to fulfill all constitutional requirements for election of convention delegates as an excuse to drive Christoffel out of the UAW, and to smash the Allis-Chalmers local. Very few delegates will ever forget that the unprincipled factional struggle led to a shameful defense of strikebreaking when Victor Reuther declared, "If 1,500 people went through that picket line, they did not go back until after they pounded the pavement sixty-seven days." To which John DeVito from the Fisher Body plant in Cleveland replied, "The opposition said a man is not a scab when he went through the picket line after sixty-eight days. The strike lasted seventy-six days, and he is still a scab in my opinion." The Allis-Chalmers representatives took their rightful place.

The next assault, launched against the North American Aviation strikers, was also prevented from being turned into a pogrom. The spring walkout at Inglewood, Calif., was never authorized by the international executive board; the strike had been broken by federal troops

Charles

with the approval of the OPM. A group demanded the blood of Lew Michener, West Coast regional director, who had supported the strike. Michener should be suspended from the union, the group stated, and prevented from holding union office. The West Coast, it was urged, should be punished. But the delegates rejected both the majority and minority reports of the grievance committee, and voted for what they dubbed the "super-minority" report submitted by one man. They banned Michener from running for reelection as regional director, but they refused to bar him from any other elective or appointive office, and would not sanction the appointment of a West Coast administrator. In the clash over North American and Allis-Chalmers, the so-called Addes "progressives" whom Richard Frankensteen joined before long, took a sounder position. Yet because of factional considerations on subsequent issues of even greater import, they abandoned principles as fully as did the Reuther-led cohorts.

THE CONVENTION THEN, despite delays and difficulties, managed to develop a forward-looking platform on matters pertaining to legislation and economics. But when it came to the "Red" resolution, confusion triumphed. The constitutional committee submitted three equally fallacious reports. The Reuthers supported the "majority" opinion, which proposed that the constitution be amended by the insertion of a clause forbidding union office to anyone suspected of "loyalty to a foreign government or who supports organizations which approve of totalitarian forms of government." The vague wording meant nothing; the intent was clearly enough to facilitate a witch hunt against Communists and all other militants labelled "Communist." Instead of fighting the resolution which set up second class citizenry for the most faithful, hard working, and effective union members, the Addes bloc not only capitulated, but tried to advance its factional position against Reuther by proposing the barring from office of Socialists as well as Communists. Their "progressivism" was such that they went the Red-baiters one better. The net result was the passage of their proposition barring "Communists" from office in the union, and inexcusably lumping Communism with Nazism and fascism.

Naturally, the issue was not whether the UAW-CIO should endorse Communism. The resolution, however, was a wedge to keep Red-baiting alive in the locals and in the incoming international executive board, to make the winning of unity more difficult. President Thomas, though he supported the Reuther version, at least warned vaguely against the action. "Let us not do anything hysterical, let us get our feet on the ground and remain in order," he pleaded. Once the amendment was passed (result of "the demagogy which has characterized the debates of this convention," as one delegate remarked), even those who had voted for it showed uneasiness. Thomas regretted "the bitterness" of the discussion, suggesting that the detailed account of the roll call be deleted from the proceedings because employers would hound everyone who voted "no" and persecute them in the shops and during strikes.

Actually, the resolution contradicted every other principle affirmed at Buffalo. It flew in the face of the resolution unanimously accepted with cheers from the floor: "We reaffirm our belief in the Constitution of the United States and the guarantee contained in the Bill of Rights and our International Constitution that states 'to unite in one organization regardless of race, creed, color, political affiliation or nationality, all employees under the jurisdiction of this International Union,' and that we work toward that end." It flouted the call for aid "to those people who continue to fight against Hitler and his allies," to which was appended the confused hangover of isolationist sentiment opposing "the entrance of the United States into foreign wars."

As has been mentioned, those seeking office dreaded to face issues directly, and so they cut off debate on the question of fighting fascism. The "progressives" came in for their share of the blame, as well as the Reuthers. It is worth mentioning that throughout the convention the brothers, posing as proteges of Sidney Hillman, had launched one tirade after another against the Soviet Union. Lamentably, Hillman did not see fit to speak out while the convention was in progress to state his reaction to those who claimed to be his disciples and who were busy quoting Hitler against the USSR and spreading confusion when the imperative need was for unified effort.

The election of officers returned R. J. Thomas to the presidency. George Addes, weakened by his Red-baiting (though he bravely denounced the Coughlin-controlled Association of Catholic Trade Unionists), barely overcame his rival, Richard Leonard, for secretary-treasurer. The new executive board had before it the task of fulfilling the program accepted at Buffalo. If it abided by the wishes of the membership, it would give the fullest support to the principles that have entrenched the CIO in American life. It would render complete assistance to the defense program. It would extend its efforts to do for aircraft what it had already done for the automobile industry. Above all, it would exert all energy to achieve the annihilation of fascism in this country and throughout the world.

BRUCE MINTON.

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THE POWER OF THE SOVIET GUERRILLAS

Colonel T. describes the organization of the armies fighting in the Nazi rear. The regular irregulars. Transforming the skirmishing of the past into highly coordinated warfare.

DESPITE the fact that military analysts and commentators write and talk continually of guerrilla warfare on the Eastern Front, a great many people still think of it as a kind of "pitchfork-and-ax-war" of the "Russian peasantry" against the invaders. Such a misunderstanding is quite natural, because the kind of guerrilla or "partisan" war which is going on—on a battlefield of about 200,000 square miles west of the line running through Kingissep, Novgorod, Smolensk, Gomel, Zhitomir, Nikopol, and Kherson—is novel in its military methods, if not in the psychological motives which have brought it into being.

There have been a great number of wars in the last century. Very few of these wars were supplemented with guerrilla warfare. Take the example of the first world war. Much as it was an incipient total war, that is, a war which affected and engulfed the lives of entire peoples, the populations of the warring countries took no active part in it, content to suffer in silence, with an occasional outburst of individual terror against the forces of the invader.

Did the Prussians fight the invaders during the Prussian march into East Prussia in the beginning of 1914? They did not. Those who remained behind poisoned a few wells here and there, but on the whole they tried to continue living as unperturbed as possible. The situation in the conquered provinces of Austria-Hungary was even more striking: there the population was rather friendly to the armies of Russia, or at worst, passive. Approximately the same relations prevailed between the Austro-German armies and the population of the Russian provinces which these armies occupied. During the entire war there was not a vestige of guerrilla warfare.

In the rear of the firing line at a distance equal to the range of the field guns, the occupying troops of the invader (whoever he may have been) felt safe. Lines of communications in enemy territory needed but scanty escort. Railroad trains ran peacefully. The conflict was concentrated along a line whose width was approximately equal to the double range of the heavier field guns—say twenty miles in all.

The impression was created that czar and kaiser fought by means of their armies, with the rest of the people looking on, worried about having their personal belongings confiscated or requisitioned. Their anxiety in that respect was mitigated by the realization that either friend or foe would rob them anyway. The general attitude of the population was one of resigned passivity. While such an attitude was principally caused by a general, if subconscious, understanding that the war aims of either side had little to do with the welfare of either of the peoples, the natural feeling of resentment against the foreign invader should not be dismissed as non-existent. Such a feeling did exist, especially so against the Germans, whose military caste was ruthless and overbearing long before Hitler's advent.

Why then didn't the peoples of invaded countries resort to armed resistance in the form of guerrilla warfare? This did not happen because these peoples lacked military training, arms, organization, bases, and intimate relationship with the army command of their own country. The governments of all countries in those days did not wish to train their people in the use of arms, preferring to dispense with their aid rather than to risk facing an entire armed people unfettered by strict army discipline. Organization of the people into semi-military clubs, societies, and detachments was prevented, not encouraged, at best for the same reason. In all countries a sort of universal "Sullivan Law" existed. People were not allowed to possess arms, munitions, explosives, etc. Everything was being done to erect an impassable wall between the civilian population and the army. It is clear that under such conditions a population could not be expected to merge itself with its army in case of war. Between the two no "psychological liaison" existed. Under such conditions the prerequisites for the emergence of a guerrilla movement simply did not exist.

TRUE, there were wars in which guerrillas, or their approximations, did exist. Such was the American Civil War, the Franco-Prussian War, the Boxer War, the Boer War, the Serbian theater of the first world war, and, finally the war for Spanish democracy and the struggle of China against the Japanese invader. But none of these wars produced a guerrilla adjunct comparable, even remotely, to what is going on now in Europe, roughly between the twenty-fifth and thirty-fifth degrees longitude East, i.e., between the Soviet-German border of June 1941, and the line of deepest penetration of the German army into Soviet territory. The reason for that is that no government, except the government of the USSR, had the desire, the means, or the time to make the necessary preparations for a guerrilla warfare on a national, universal, and almost "regular" scale.

You will say: "Regular guerrillas? What a paradox!" Presently we shall see that this is not so. To begin with, the Soviet government offered and encouraged full military training for all citizens, male or female. Collective farms, factories, and institutions, be they government offices, theaters, universities, or what not, became organizational centers for military training. Nor did the people train with wooden rifles, rubber hand grenades, or carts bearing the inscription: "This is a tank." They familiarized themselves with the most modern weapons of war, with modern tactics, and with army discipline. Scores of thousands of collective farms became the recipients of rifles, machine guns, anti-tank guns, mine throwers, flame throwers, dynamite, TNT—in peacetime. They acquired their own motor transport and received ample reserves of fuel. They were practically all equipped with radios and a certain number among them received short wave receiving and sending sets from the government. Emergency landing fields were prepared. Ammunition, arms, fuel, and explosives were hidden away in pits, ice-houses, granaries, barns, etc. The surrounding country was tactically prepared for war.

CONSTANT INTIMATE RELATIONSHIP between the population and the army had created in peacetime a basis for immediate and natural cooperation in wartime. The army and the people had felt for a whole generation that they simply belonged to each other. The result of this setup was really unheard of and is to this tenth week of the German-Soviet war not understood.

People think of "regular" and "guerrilla" war as two entirely separate things, much as they think of the "people of Russia" and the Red Army as two separate things. People think that a pitched battle is fought by the two regular armies, after which one army retires and some time later the civilian population begins to commit individual acts of sabotage, kills sentries, blows up an occasional bridge or unbolts a section of railroad track. This conception is fundamentally erroneous. In order to explain things, let us take an example, simplifying it tactically to the utmost. Let us assume that a German panzer division crashes through a Soviet defense sector. The Red Army division sees that it is being outflanked, enveloped and perhaps surrounded. Ordinarily, with troops of a different mettle, this would mean mental panic, to say the least. All hands would begin to "look over their shoulders," to the rear. Retreat or surrender would be the

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two alternatives discussed by both the command and the rank and file.

Not so with the Red Army. The surrounded division fights on, trying to strike at the Achilles heel of the panzers, that is, their link with the motorized infantry that follows them in order to hold, exploit, and secure the breakthrough and assure the panzers of their supply of fuel and ammunition. If this attack against the panzer's "neck" (the tank spearhead being the "head") succeeds, the spearhead runs out of gas, usually digs the tanks into the ground, and fights it out on fixed positions. The breakthrough is liquidated. But if the attack fails, the Red Army division, or a part of it, continues to fight on a circular front, surrounded by the enemy, as long as it can afford to do so without throwing away human lives for nothing. When the situation becomes untenable, the Red Army troops "disintegrate"—at least that is what the Germans call it—and scatter over the countryside, gathering around themselves the local military organizations among the civilian population. These organizations by that time have already removed their military stores to inaccessible places—preferably in marshes, woods, or mountains—where they encamp. From now on they are under the command of regular Red Army officers. The military stores have been pooled and the army units have been reinforced with a new "draft" of civilian fighters.

At first these units remain rather large: regiments, brigades, even divisions. Later they split up as the pressure of the Germans upon them increases, but always into integrated detachments, embodying practically all types of arms—infantry, artillery, engineers, cavalry, etc.

These detachments try to avoid fighting large units of the German army. They "specialize" in headquarters, railroads, bridges, military trains, communications in general, and stray German generals. As a side line they take care of sundry local "Quislings" if such have the misfortune of emerging. These detachments of "regular guerrillas," which in fact are miniature army corps, containing almost all elements of all arms, have a base somewhere in the wilderness and maintain around it a semblance of a circular front. They communicate with army headquarters by two-way radio or by plane sent from headquarters. Sometimes they have their own planes. (A few days ago the Soviet press described the activities of the "Galitski detachment," which from certain details of its organization and operations looks like a good division to this writer. The detachment seems to be so well equipped with means of motor transport that it was able in a few hours to "evacuate" the contents of several German military trains at a station the detachments had suddenly seized. Guns, tanks, munitions, and gas were loaded on trucks and taken "to the woods.")

At this stage the "lost division" acts against the "tail" of the German column, that is, against its lines of supply and reinforcement. Putting it very schematically: the Soviet division hits the German thrust on the head, then tries to cut its throat, then attacks its body, and, finally "split into a thousand detachments," tears away at its tail.

Now the bodies of the German columns, including the tails, at the present time are about 400 miles long. They cover an area of about 200,000 square miles which has a railroad mileage of, say, 15,000 miles. It was calculated during 1916 that the Turks, when faced with Arab guerrillas, had to keep about five men to a square mile to guard more or less against them. It is clear that the Germans need considerably more because the Soviet guerrillas are highly trained and armed fighters. But even allowing that minimum figure we see that 1,000,000 Germans are thus immobilized. Add to this a platoon per mile of railroad and you will see that the Germans must withdraw from the "big front" over 1,500,000 men simply to maintain a semblance of stability in their rear.

How they succeed can be seen by the examples of the Soviet 99th Division, which rejoined its army after crashing through the German rear for forty days, from the region of Przemysl to the vicinity of Kiev; and the "Boldin Division" which fought its way back from west of Minsk to somewhere near Smolensk in forty-five days. Things must be pretty messy in the German rear if enemy divisions can travel around for more than a month, with all their guns, trucks, etc., and emerge in perfect fighting trim.

This is made possible only by the complete integration between population and army. The same condition, conversely, obtains in the Soviet rear, where the people are trained, alert, armed, and ready to fight, and where, because of that, not one single German parachute operation was able to succeed. Needless to say that the guerrilla warriors complete the scorching of the earth when the retreating Red Army does not succeed in fully doing so.

Thus we see an unprecedented phenomenon: empty villages and cities in the occupied zone, but *no refugees* blocking the roads; regions *covered* by the German army, but not really occupied by it; huge battles tapering off in the enemy rear into skirmishes which extend as far back as hundreds of miles west of the points appearing in the daily communiques.

On the strength of all this we would like to say that the Germans in the long run haven't got a German's chance against the first real, practical application of total defense which consists of three main elements: The Red Army, Air Force, and Navy, a people fighting *totally*, and the scorched earth. The Germans under these circumstances cannot gain anything, and in war, who does not gain, loses.

COLONEL T.

City of the Blues

St. Louis, Mo.;
river side, piles rotted with river,
Y'hoo, Y'hoo, river whistle tuned harsh.
Get me back to St. Louis.
Burdocks, castor oil plants; ground pecked over by chickens, smeared
With droppings and moulted feathers. Fence, coop, mash-pans, wire
And a tub of white-wash. Faded rag rug and flat bottle
(This nook and nobody here but the half-grown hens.)
Tug going by, puffpuff, small wave tapered. St. Louis dock
Stacked high, six blocks away, belted with wharves,
Coal smoke, winches, shovel,—crash of freight,
Pillars of white puffed upward, stiff white from the trains.
Bank all slums and slime, frame houses. Dark, wet, cold.
(So sweet, so cold, so fair.)
Castor oil plants and acanthus.

(When they kill, they kill
Here, and dump the body here.) The river, pale clay
Deep down stream. Y'hoo, Y'hoo yell the trains,
And the boats yell, too.
But the silence, the silence
Blows clean through your bones.
In the chicken yard, listlessly, beside the piles, waiting for nothing
The Negro boy, head bent, beating out his tattoo
Nimble and complex, on the fence . . .
Get ready to blow, trumpets, trumpets, trumpets,
O Gabriel, O Willie Smith
Take it away.

GENEVIEVE TAGGARD.
(From "The Clipper")

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(Continued from page 7)

forces in the struggle for Iraq. Rumanian oil fields are already under continual Soviet air attack; Hitler will unquestionably soon begin to feel the effects of this preventive blockade.

Fourth, Germany's relations with the Arabic world will be affected and Mussolini's bombastic pretensions as "protector of Islam" will be punctured. In the whole Levant, the decisive Anglo-Soviet stand will register impressively, all the more so since both parties disavow territorial ambitions. Most important, Hitler's relations with Turkey now face a crisis, and he may very well be figuring out ways of getting round his own neutrality agreement. Turkish politics are bound to crystallize one way or the other. If the Turks will resist the Nazis, they now have physical proof of the Anglo-Soviet determination and ability to assist them.

From the London End

CHURCHILL'S radio speech last Sunday did not illuminate in any particulars his rendezvous with the President. But it was a powerful restatement of the Atlantic declaration, a very positive reaffirmation of both the British and American determination to bring about the "final destruction of the Nazi tyranny." The prime minister did not explore in detail the problem of how the United States or Great Britain intended to implement their pledges to the Soviet Union, but he did say that for the destruction of Hitler "many practical arrangements . . . have been and are being organized and set in motion." And he hailed the "magnificent devotion" of the Soviet people in defense of their "hearths and homes." For those in this country who still continue to doubt the Soviet Union's abilities, Churchill wisely emphasized that British "generals who have visited the Russian front line report with admiration the efficiency of their military organization and the excellence of their equipment."

Churchill's prose had more than its usual power; and the way he interwove his solid political argument with the description of the "landlocked bay" reminiscent of the "west coast of Scotland," in which he met Mr. Roosevelt, the evocative details about the church services on board the *Prince of Wales,* was more than masterful. One passage stands out in the speech, the passage in which he spoke directly to the oppressed peoples of Europe . . . "brave Norwegians, your land shall be cleansed . . . Poles, your country shall live again . . . gallant Frenchmen, not all the infamies of Darlan and of Laval shall stand between you and the restoration of your birthright . . . tough, stout-hearted Dutch and Belgians, glorious Greece, subjected to the crowning insult of rule by the Italian jackanapes . . . have faith, have hope. Deliverance is sure. . . ."

ON AT LEAST two points of Churchill's speech, many NEW MASSES readers are naturally bound to make reservations. The repeated emphasis on the role of the English-speaking peoples was perhaps understandable since the speech was so obviously directed at the American audience. But in reality, the organization of a better world depends on more than the action of the English-speaking peoples: it depends on the peoples of Europe themselves and on the valiant, and epic sacrifice which the many peoples of the Soviet Union are now making. The English-speaking peoples have yet to match that sacrifice. So also Churchill's elaboration of the eight-point "Atlantic Charter," in which he declares that Germany must be disarmed, whereas the Anglo-American powers must not make the "mistake" of Versailles and forego their own armaments, seems to us questionable.

That this is Churchill's position and in no way prevents cooperation of all anti-fascist forces in the struggle against Hitlerism is perfectly clear. But the fact is that differences are bound to arise the moment anyone attempts to define the precise nature of the postwar world. The first and most pressing war aim is to win this war and win it quickly. This aim must be uppermost and must be acted upon. On other issues of the past and future there is room for debate, but today such debate can only divert anti-fascist energies. On the tasks of the present, there is room only for action. And *action* is what both the British and American peoples expect of their leaders.

The most significant single passage in the prime minister's address concerned the Far East, the passage in which he informed us that "the United States are laboring with infinite patience to arrive at a fair and amicable settlement which will give Japan the utmost reassurances for her legitimate interests." It is regrettable, of course, that the American people were not informed by their own leaders of the "negotiations" to which Churchill referred, although it was apparent from the Japanese Ambassador Nomura's visits to Cordell Hull last week that something was in the air.

In itself, there is nothing objectionable to negotiations with Japan for some kind of settlement in the Far East. Obviously the alternative may mean the outbreak of war, a war that would divert American attention from the pressing issue of defeating Hitler in Europe. No reasonable citizen denies that our government ought to maintain peace by negotiation if possible, and war ought to be a last resort. But the question is: the character and objectives of negotiations with Tokyo. If the freezing of Japanese credits and the stoppage of the silk and oil trade means anything, they mean that appeasement has failed. Japan has now occupied French Indo-China to the borders of the vital Malayan and Dutch East Indies shores. Appeasement can only mean yielding rich preserves to strengthen Japan in her alliance with Germany. There may be some evil men in the State Department who think that our problems would be solved by persuading Japan to attack northwards. This also is foolish, not to say criminal. If it is true that Hitler's attack menaces our national interest, then so would a Japanese assault on Siberia.

The real questions revolve around the future of China, and that is where the danger lies, all the more so since China was not mentioned in the Atlantic charter or in Churchill's speech; China has still not been accepted as a full-fledged partner in the anti-fascist world alliance. To settle the war between China and Japan is desirable, but only on the basis of the complete withdrawal of Japanese troops from Chinese soil, the unconditional respect for China's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

China is a key nation in Asia, whose victory is essential for the progress of the colonial peoples toward democracy. Peace is desirable in the Far East only on the basis of advancing China's unity and democracy. What our government ought to do, if it wishes to express the sentiments of the American people, is to expand material and military aid for China, and make it clear at every point that we shall never be party to a settlement of the Far Eastern war at China's expense. It is well to hear from Churchill that Britain will stand with us in case of war with Japan. But if war shall be averted, Britain must stand with us and the Soviet Union in maintaining China's cause today.

The Crime Against Browder

EARL BROWDER has been in the penitentiary at Atlanta, Ga., for five months. It is worth remembering the "crime" used as an excuse to keep this great American behind bars. Browder was sent to the penitentiary because as an American citizen he had taken out a passport in his own name and had visited loyalist Spain. But twenty years ago—and until 1933 when Hitler came to power—Earl Browder had traveled incognito to Germany, Italy, and China. He had gone (not as the wealthy who so often travel incognito on pleasure jaunts), to perform political work in defense of democracy in those countries struggling against the growing menace of fascism. These trips exposed him to grave personal danger, therefore he used other names on his passport. Otherwise he could not have possibly visited the threatened countries.

During the Hoover administration, the Department of State learned that Browder had traveled incognito. This practice was a com-

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mon one; it was considered of no significance since it did not in any way harm the interests of the United States. When war broke out, however, in the autumn of 1939, the Department of Justice decided to prosecute Browder. The statute of limitations prevented prosecution on former uses of a pseudonym. The passport used in 1938 to visit Spain was in Browder's own name. But the Department of Justice found a flaw. When Browder applied for his last passport, he had written "None" to the section of the application which read: "My last passport was obtained from . . . and is herewith submitted for cancelation." He had no passport with him at the time and he had never possessed one in his own name.

All very well. But the Department of Justice pretended that Browder had been asked whether he had *ever* had a passport in *any* name whatsoever. And on that legalistic mumbo-jumbo, Browder was sentenced to four years in jail and a $2,000 fine. He has paid the fine. He has served five months in jail. What else can decency and justice—or just the ordinary standards of fair play—require? Browder, leader in the struggle against fascism, must go free.

Who's "Unpatriotic" Now?

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S executive order to the Navy to take over Federal Shipbuilding's plant at Kearny, N. J., was issued at the present request of the 16,000 strikers. True, the company went through the motions of also making such a request. It did so, however, only after the strikers (Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, CIO) had appealed to the government; and company officials made plain that they wanted the Navy to step in and *break* the strike. Well, the strike has ended—but with the workers going back into the shipyard on the assurance that their union demands will be negotiated. As most NEW MASSES readers will recall, the workers went out on August 7 after the company had shown clearly that it would not obey a National Defense Mediation Board recommendation to grant the union a modified form of the closed shop. Company officials themselves insisted that this was the one issue. For the sake of their precious open shop they tied up work for sixteen days on $493,000,000 worth of defense orders—and then attacked the strikers as "unpatriotic"!

There are some lessons for the public, too, in the Kearny affair. Commercial newspapers have been moaning "subversive" and "sabotage" at any strike in a defense industry. But Federal Shipbuilding's defiance of a government recommendation, as well as its refusal even to consider a valid union request, has exposed this subsidiary of US Steel as the really unpatriotic factor in defense. More, it will undoubtedly cause many people to look very coldly on the "patriotic" propaganda of other anti-labor monopolies. One of the most important truths of our time has been emphasized: that organized labor's fight for its rights and its fight for genuine national defense are two fronts in the same war.

Knudsenism—The Bottleneck

THE magnificent fight of the Soviet Union, the promise of developments in Iran, the growing resistance in the occupied countries, present an unparalleled opportunity to all people aligned against Nazi barbarism. And at this moment it is natural that people everywhere look toward the United States, "arsenal of democracy."

But the arsenal is by no means stocked with sufficient machines and provisions, as the reactionary Senator Byrd pointed out when, for political reasons, he criticized the defense program. Senator Byrd, interested in making a newspaper headline, exaggerated needlessly. But the official figures are bad enough. Too obviously the defense program has not fulfilled its quotas. In July production of planes, of which there is such urgent need, was 1,465, a far cry from the projected 50,000 planes a year called for by the President many months ago. Shortages in steel, aluminum, zinc, copper, shortages in essentials of all kinds, threaten plans for prompt delivery of necessary armaments to the British-Soviet allies. The production of field guns is lamentably behind schedule. Latest figures tell of 150 light tanks turned out monthly—but of few medium-sized tanks, and of no heavy tanks at all.

America's safety is in danger; the most effective and unrelenting prosecution of the war by Britain and the USSR is menaced—yet so very little has been done. Where does the trouble lie? The answer must be: primarily with big business, and with the envoys of big business who have moved into the Office of Production Management. Because, no matter what the emergency, no matter what the danger may be even to national security (remember France?), the arrogant monopolists do not suddenly change their spots. Before national integrity, before any and all demands of war against a ruthless enemy—before any other consideration, comes the greed for profits. The productivity of the richest, most highly developed country in the world is sabotaged, deliberately stalled. The crime of the Aluminum Co. of America (Mellon-owned) is only typical: rather than expand plant capacity, Alcoa deliberately limited production, because its government orders would boost profits astronomically. If Alcoa had decided to produce more aluminum, the company would have enjoyed plenty of profitable business—but not at the same exorbitant profit per dollar of investment, and also at the risk that its monopoly might be weakened when the war ended. So Alcoa refused to build new plants, though it knew far in advance that an aluminum shortage was inevitable; more than that, until a few days ago Alcoa refused to permit any other plant to be constructed by government or private enterprise, because Alcoa was strong enough and influential enough in the OPM to forbid even the government to produce aluminum. As a result, airplane manufacture is delayed, curtailed; dislocations of all sorts are imposed. Nor is it too reassuring to learn from the OPM last week that an alumina plant will be constructed in Arkansas with an annual capacity of 500,000,000 pounds (and another plant is planned), to be built entirely with Defense Plant Corp. funds and owned by the government, though Alcoa will be in charge of construction and operation of the new project.

The same has been true of steel, of all materials in which there are said to be shortages. The automobile industry has been ordered to curtail output of passenger cars on next year's models. That would be understandable *if it meant an increase in defense equipment.* But as it is, skilled workers lose jobs, and plant machinery has yet to be installed and altered to produce sufficient trucks and tanks. Mr. Knudsen, head of OPM, defended his industry when it refused to make shifts in machines for defense production. He excused the refusal to expand capacity in steel. The OPM, under the direction of Knudsen of General Motors, Stettinius of US Steel, and representatives of other huge combines, spent most of its energy on plans whereby corporations could evade taxes, inflate profits, and grab all orders while small manufacturers with available capacity were left out in the cold, while machinery in their plants idled. Now at this critical moment in the world's history, a few giants have contracts for more orders than can be handled for months; yet smaller concerns go out of business for lack of anything to do.

Expansion of productive capacity is the crying need. The experience of the past year has proved two things. (1) The search for profits, which alone concerns the great corporations, makes for inefficiency, delay, corruption, even sabotage of the defense program. (2) There can be no adequate defense production so long as the men who speak and think only for the monopolists head the OPM. The mistakes of the OPM have not been honest errors; they have been the fruit of policies deliberately followed by Knudsen and men like him who desire only that the few biggest corporations be free to pursue their particular selfish ends, and to hell with everything else.

The conclusion is obvious. Knudsenism and defense are incompatible. The President has the country's wholehearted support in his all-out program of aid to the Allies while at the same time building up and modernizing the American army. The people of America look to him to cut through red tape, to clean out saboteurs, to bring efficiency out of the present appalling chaos that Knudsenism has brought. Above all, they demand the end to delay—and that means new plant construction, proper distribution of orders, new personnel in the OPM with labor granted an equal voice, the determination that nothing can interfere with the protection of our country, and the fullest aid to those prosecuting the war against Hitler terror.

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NEUROTIC GASPS AND HEARTY CHEERS

Samuel Sillen sifts the opinions of thirty-five reviewers of Sholokhov's latest book. From the "New Yorker" to the Toledo "Blade." The "avant-garde" hecklers.

IN THE past few weeks I have read about thirty-five reviews of Mikhail Sholokhov's *The Silent Don,* ranging from Edwin Seaver's excellent appraisal in the New York *PM* to Margaret Marshall's neurotic gasp in the *Nation.* I have listened to cheers and groans from Providence to Dallas. In Chicago, Sholokhov has been compared with Tolstoy; in St. Louis, with Tolstoy, Turgenev, Gogol, and Dostoevsky; and on the West Coast, with Grade B composers of cowboy-and-Indian stories. There have been sneers at the "unproletarian affluence" of writers in the Soviet Union. There have been old wives' tales about the Russian's "fatalistic readiness to die." And all the comments, neatly pooled and tabulated, afford an interesting if unflattering insight into the state of book reviewing.

I return from the continental tour with a conviction that, in respect to book reviewing, New York and not the hinterland is the citadel of cultural reaction. The obscure reviewers of the smaller newspapers are on the whole more perceptive and genuine in their response than their celebrated brethren in the metropolis. The Toledo or Duluth reviewer is a little old-fashioned, to be sure. Having been paid to discuss a novel, he sticks to his business. He does not feel called upon to write a snide dissertation on Stalin instead of summarizing the plot. You will, for example, have to scour the byways of America before you come upon another Manya Gordon. In New York her wares can be had for fifteen cents in the *Saturday Review of Literature.* Too many of the New York review editors have ill-digested their Klausewitz. It was war, he said, not book reviewing, that is the continuation of politics by other means.

For years we have been told by the editors of the *New Yorker* that they abhor politics as relentlessly as nature abhors a vacuum. But their reviewer, Vincent McHugh, pinch-hitting for Clifton Fadiman, uses *The Silent Don* as a pretext for announcing his unsolicited opinions on the "cruelty" of Communists. The lady from Dubuque, consulting her local newspaper, realizes that this sort of "literary" judgment is as phony as the stylized glibness which so frequently masquerades as wit in the *New Yorker.* Another publication which has a rendezvous with world politics in its secluded book column is *Cue.* For only a dime we can now learn not only what time the second feature goes on, but the reasons why Sholokhov is the "only" good writer in the Soviet Union. Mr. Orville Prescott no doubt conducted an exhaustive survey of Soviet letters before arriving at his devastating conclusion that Prokofieff and Shostakovich, that Kataev and Alexei Tolstoy, were merely apparitions, since Soviet culture is non-existent. A common note, this, in many reviews. Sholokhov is the "only" Soviet writer. There appears to be a widespread assumption that every so often God, in His divine goodness, hurtles an author out of heaven, and that, by the law of averages, it is not at all surprising that once in twenty years a good writer should land on Soviet soil.

ON THE OTHER HAND, many reviewers express a more humble recognition that there is more to the Soviet Union than they had previously realized. The Providence *Journal* observes that "one of the more cheerful byproducts of the Nazi-Soviet war is the rediscovery of the Russian people by the outside world." The Toledo *Blade* and other papers in the Paul Block chain carry a review stressing the fact that Sholokhov's novel shows "what Hitler is up against." The Springfield (Mass.) *Sunday Union and Republican* points out that the novel "holds in clear perspective a land and people upon whose courage and strength our own destiny now to some extent depends." And coupled with this reaction is an awareness that Sholokhov has written one of the great books of our time. The Philadelphia *Inquirer* describes *The Silent Don* as "one of the finest, greatest, and truest novels of this time or any other time. No description short of that would be worthy of it." Praising Sholokhov's Homeric sweep and massive beauty, Sterling North of the Chicago *News* says that his genius "deserves worldwide attention." And this view is shared by writers in the Milwaukee *Journal,* the Detroit *Free Press,* and a number of other papers.

Even the most favorable of these reviews, however, express a sense of amazement that, as one writer put it, while Sholokhov is "evidently a Bolshevik in good standing . . . he has written a surprisingly objective story." I have already had occasion to note, in a previous article, the New York *Times* review by Alexander Nazaroff praising the book because it avoided the "Marxist" approach. Other reviewers show varying degrees of downright distortion or naivete. Perhaps the most innocent and characteristic observation is contained in the exclamation of one reviewer that "There isn't a line of Marxist dialectics in it." Such a remark would appear to assume that "dialectics" performs the function of bitter-sweet chocolate bits in a toll-house cookie. It is a kind of ingredient which the Marxist writer dutifully inserts to give the correct flavor. The poor reviewer, having failed to bite into one of the expected chunks, finds the experience pleasantly undialectical. And he even predicts that the NEW MASSES board of censors will be enraged by the absence of the flavorsome chunks of dialectics. Like M. Jourdain in Moliere's play, who did not realize that he was talking prose all his life, this writer swallowed 1,300 pages of dialectics without noting its presence.

MOST MEAN-SPIRITED and ignorant of all the reviews was that of Margaret Marshall, literary editor of the *Nation.* Miss Marshall betrays a snobbish contempt for the masses which is hardly in keeping with the democratic pretensions of her publication. Sholokhov, it appears, is all right—for "peasants." After all, says Miss Marshall, the Soviet Union is only a "primitive" country where people are just learning to brush their teeth, and for such boors Sholokhov is a competent though "conventional" story-teller. To the more civilized readers of the *Nation,* such primitive trifling is repulsive. They want "innovation," "avant-gardism," "artistic revolt."

What sort of "artistic" revolt does the Pepsodent lady envisage? After trotting out all the well worn scurrilities about "totalitarianism," Miss Marshall reduces the task of the socialist writer to one very simple proposition: his function is to overthrow socialism. Since his intellectual development is "stifled" under the Soviet regime, it would follow that his release can be accomplished only through the abolition of that regime. Just as Hitler would organize a world crusade against Bolshevism in behalf of "Christianity," Miss Marshall

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would organize, in her own modest way, a crusade against the Soviet "peasants" in behalf of avant-garde culture. The "revolution of the word" theory advanced by Margaret Marshall, Edmund Wilson, and a shovelful of literary Trotskyites provides the "ideology" for their anti-Soviet malice. Noting the development of a realistic and humanistic literature in the USSR, they bemoan the absence of that irresponsibility, bohemianism, and snobbish aloofness which they celebrate among themselves as "avant-gardism." They squirm at the lack of decadence in Soviet art, its human warmth, its wholesome firmness. And, like sick men who resent the healthy, they sneer at Soviet virility as "conventional."

Even Manya Gordon is less wild-eyed than Margaret Marshall. Miss Gordon's review is a lyrical tribute to the Cossacks who defended their "freedom" from the Bolsheviks. This is in keeping with her familiar thesis that everything in Russia was idyllic before 1917. Miss Gordon criticizes Sholokhov because he does not present Cossacks who can read and write. Had she read the work more carefully she would have discovered that it is the Communist Stockman who teaches the workers of Mokhov's mill to appreciate the poetry of Nekrassov and the history of their own Cossack region. Sholokhov is at least as eager as Manya Gordon to stress the desire of most Cossacks for freedom, but he makes perfectly clear that this desire was twisted and frustrated not by the new Soviet regime, but by the counter-revolutionary overlords whose cause Miss Gordon champions. "One looks in vain," says Miss Manya Gordon, "for the name of an outstanding Bolshevik." This is a remarkable fault to find in Sholokhov, particularly since on other occasions Miss Gordon has stormed against the "one-man worship" of the Soviets. It is also rather startling to find the reviewer complaining that Sholokhov's efforts at objectivity impede the flow of the narrative. One had supposed that such objectivity would have been a welcome relief to Miss Gordon, who for so many years has bewailed the "bias" of Soviet writers. But she has shown herself consistent in at least one sense: she has proved to be as adept at interpreting fiction as she is at manipulating statistics.

AS A RELIEF from this coalition of carpers, there is the review by Edwin Seaver in *PM* of August 3. Mr. Seaver expresses in his opening paragraph the warm enthusiasm which *The Silent Don* evokes in most readers: "So many adjectives have been lavished by so many reviewers on so much literary trash, one is embarrassed in the presence of a genuinely first rate book. All the big words seem suddenly empty, and nothing becomes one so much as silence. After all, you don't applaud the prairies. You don't say of the sea: 'Easily the greatest ocean of this year, and far surpasses any of last year's oceans.'"

Further on in his review, Mr. Seaver declares: "In an age when the greatest novelists have tended to picture human beings as shadows in a ritualistic dance and have drowned themselves in the well of time, Sholokhov, the novelist of a collective society, has restored to fiction the dignity and significance of the individual. The great tradition of Russian realism remains unbroken."

These are forthright words. They express an appreciation of Sholokhov's genius which most of the other reviewers recognize despite their reservations and confusion. American readers find in Sholokhov's artistic power the same stirring qualities which they are discovering daily in the heroism of the Soviet peoples.

SAMUEL SILLEN.

An Engineer on Chile

CHILE, LAND OF PROGRESS, *by Earl P. Hanson. Reynal & Hitchcock. $1.75.*

THE author of this book is an engineer who has resided for years in Chile and accordingly possesses a firsthand knowledge of the country. His approach is essentially that of the engineer, and this, to my mind, is a distinct advantage. From an intelligent, honest-intentioned member of the profession who has lived and worked on the scene, one may expect an honest, competent report. That is the kind of report we get here. If the engineer in question happens in addition to be a true liberal and a democrat, with warm, decent human sympathies, we may look for something more; and Mr. Hanson, in his account of the new forms of social and political life that are evolving in the Chile of today, very often gives us this extra measure of understanding and good will.

Mr. Hanson views the great progressive-democratic movement which has been going on in Chile since the ousting of the old aristocratic oligarchy from power in the early twenties as a kind of Chilean New Deal. This approach has at once its advantages and its drawbacks. On the one hand, it easily enables Mr. Hanson, with his temperament and training, to give a sane and lucid account of what is happening in the neighborhood of Santiago. There is, for one thing, a total and gratifying absence of Red-baiting in the book. On the other hand, the author does not realize that it is later than he thinks by the clock of history, and that a Popular Front government at this time tends to be more advanced than the ordinary bourgeois democracy. By portraying the intense struggle of the Chilean workers, peasants, and middle classes, as merely a striving for such forms as prevailed under our New Deal, Mr. Hanson is limiting his own sympathetic understanding. The result is a recurring note of perplexity—for example, over the hostility of American big business interests to the democratic evolution of the Chilean people.

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The chief fault to be found with the book as a whole is that it overlooks the menace of fascist forces both inside and outside Chile. There is no account of the bitter struggle which the people have waged against Nazism these past few years. There are also one or two rather grave misstatements, as when Alessandri is described without qualification as "a liberal," or when (most glaring instance of all) reference is made to "Ibanez' ruthless dictatorship" as having been "organized to enable him to carry out his liberal measures."

The faults, however, are few and for the most part minor ones. What renders the book a valuable addition to anyone's Latin American shelf is the wealth of technical information which it contains on the geography, history, economic resources, and cultural life of the country, as well as its social development. Mr. Hanson has made free use, with due acknowledgments, of other works on the subject, but his own contribution outweighs any borrowings.

SAMUEL PUTNAM.

Regressive Motion

THE WOUND AND THE BOW, *by Edmund Wilson. Houghton Mifflin. $3.*

SUCH motion as can be discerned in the critical career of Edmund Wilson is mostly regressive. The author of *Axel's Castle* is but a step in advance of the young man who wrote a first-rate review of "The Wasteland" for the *Dial* in 1922. The Edmund Wilson of *The Wound and the Bow* is several steps behind both.

The Wilson of both the *Dial* piece and *Axel's Castle* gave evidence of a belief that an artist's work, if it is to have lasting value, must reflect not only his personal universe of experience, but the social universe in which he lives as well. So it was that he wrote of Eliot in 1922, "Sometimes we feel that he is speaking not only for a personal distress, but for the starvation of a whole civilization—for people grinding at barren office routine in the cells of gigantic cities, drying up their souls in eternal toil whose products never bring them profit, where their pleasures are so vulgar and so feeble that they are almost sadder than their pains."

If this point of view can be detected at all in *The Wound and the Bow,* one must be prepared to find it in completely inverted form. For the thesis underlying these essays is simply this: that in so far as a writer concerns himself with the social problems of his time, and in so far as he adopts a position in regard to these problems, he is merely exposing the way in which artists resolve their fundamental psychic difficulties.

The present volume contains a very long essay on Dickens which owes more to Mr. T. A. Jackson's excellent work than Mr. Wilson admits; another long essay on Kipling; a post-obit on Edith Wharton; a very short piece on Casanova; a critique of Ernest Hemingway which carries a caress in recog-

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nition of Hemingway's anti-progressive services in *For Whom the Bell Tolls;* a synopsis of comment and exegesis on *Finnegans Wake;* and finally, an interpretation of the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles from which the title of the book is derived.

In accordance with the psychological approach which is the determining principle of these essays, Mr. Wilson finds a key to the work of Dickens in the neurosis resulting from the misfortunes which befell Dickens and his family during his childhood: his father's imprisonment for debt, the interruption of his own education, his employment in a shoeblacking factory, and his daily harrowing visits to his father's prison. For Mr. Wilson it is the working out of the neurosis induced by these experiences which accounts for Dickens' rebellion against stodgy Victorianism.

Mr. Jackson in his work on Dickens explains more in his title "The Progress of a Radical" than Mr. Wilson in his entire essay. In a single passage dealing with the final period of Dickens' work:

". . . there is in these novels a pervading consciousness of effort—not in the invention of character and episode, but in the sense that Dickens, consciously and subconsciously, shows himself more and more at odds with bourgeois society and more and more aware of (and exasperated by) the absence of any available alternative," Jackson demonstrates the superiority of a Marxian view of the world as an instrument of literary criticism.

As with Dickens, so with Kipling. According to Wilson, Kipling's sense of security was forever destroyed when his parents farmed him out to English relatives for six years. His small size, bad eyes, physical inferiority, combined with his early persecution, form the basis of his utter reliance on authority. This, according to Mr. Wilson, explains Kipling's fanatical imperialism. Seen in this light, Kipling was for a while fortunate because he was able to neutralize his personal sense of inferiority and insecurity by becoming the literary representative of the apparently all-powerful and permanently sunlit, pre-war British empire.

But on this basis Mr. Wilson is unable to account for the neurotic suffering of the people of Kipling's later stories. He can only say, ". . . the theme of anguish which is suffered without being deserved has the appearance of having been derived from a morbid permanent feeling of injury inflicted by his experience at Smithsea." It does not occur to Mr. Wilson that Kipling's personal dilemma had a social origin; that it derived not so much from his memory of early persecution as from his own recognition, however obscure, of the fact that the world war had shaken the British empire beyond permanent recovery. Kipling was only revealing his own bafflement in the face of the clearly forecast end of world imperialism. Like so many other postwar writers, he was only revealing the soul of dying capitalism by probing the inmost recesses of the neurotic personality of his time.

Mr. Wilson's interpretation of the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles sums up his present view of the function of the artist. Philoctetes is equipped with a miraculous bow, indispensable to the victory of the Greek besiegers of Troy. However, he suffers from a wound so malodorous that they are compelled to leave him behind, bow and all. But the Greeks learn that they can never take Troy unless they have the services of Philoctetes and his bow. Neoptolemus and Ulysses are sent to conciliate Philoctetes and secure the bow. The errand is accomplished, not because of, but in spite of the wiles of the practical politician Ulysses. It is Neoptolemus, youthful, and pure in heart, who takes no offense at Philoctetes' wound, who prevails upon him to rejoin the Greeks.

Mr. Wilson strains considerably to equate Philoctetes to Sophocles himself, and by extension to modern artists. The idea seems to be that the artist in the contemporary world must suffer from just such malodorous wounds, and must be embraced wounds and all, if his services are to be had.

I feel fairly sure that most contemporary writers will not take kindly to the comparison. Whether or not Mr. Wilson himself suffers from any such malodorous wound, it is certain that his critical bow is not so unerring as the bow of Philoctetes.

DAVID SILVER.

Brief Reviews

THE THEATER OF THE GOLDEN ERA IN CALIFORNIA, *by George R. MacMinn. Caxton Printers, Ltd. $5.*

In the wake of the gold rush to California, the most enterprising actors and pioneering entertainers, like Edwin Boothe and Lola Montez, traveled West to provide a variety of entertainment in the settlements, mining camps, and boom towns that sprang up along the gold coast. This study is a well documented account of that sentimental, humorous, and boisterous period in the American theater, recapturing in detail the hectic days of the bonanza.

While Mr. MacMinn neglects the opportunity for a clear-cut study of economic influences on the cultural life of the mine towns, he has made use of a wealth of original, interesting material derived mainly from newspapers and magazines of the hectic gold rush decade.

MY DEAR BELLA, *by Arthur Kober. Random House. $2.*

Arthur Kober continues to describe in his own inimitable translations of Bronx vernacular, the doings of the Excelsior Social Club and the domestic woes of Bella Gross and her family. Mimicry doesn't create a subtle or profound humor, but it does supply light comedy for a summer afternoon. As Bella might say, it's culture that relaxes like a pill you take after a heavy meal to settle your stomach before you go in for a swim.

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"THE LITTLE FOXES"

The film version of Lillian Hellman's powerful play lives up to the original. Alvah Bessie calls it "A perfect fable for our times." What the movie industry can really do.

THE text is taken from the Song of Solomon, chapter two, verse fifteen: "Take us the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vines; for our vines have tender grapes." Lillian Hellman wrote her most accomplished play around this text, and the film that has been made from the play lives up to the original in its power and illumination. Miss Hellman herself wrote the screen play, and she has pulled no punches. This is a picture that will surely influence the millions who see it: influence them to an understanding of the forces at work in our society, and to a determination that is voiced by at least one of the characters—not to be idle or complacent, not to sit around and watch that small minority of the human race who, like the Biblical locust, devours the earth. They will fight these locusts; they will fight the little foxes in the great vineyard of the earth's wealth.

For the purposes of her story, Miss Hellman premised the Hubbard family of the South in the early 1900's. The Hubbards—Ben, Oscar, and his son Leo, and the sister of the two brothers, Regina Giddens—are the little foxes of the title. The brothers' greed is boundless; their ruthlessness in attaining their ends knows no let or hindrance. At the same time, they are thoroughly human beings; their motivation is understandable; they are out to get what they can take, and they are completely class-conscious. Says Ben to Regina, when she has momentarily out-foxed him, "There's a place in the world for people like you and me; we'll get ahead."

Regina Giddens (nee Hubbard) is the villain of the piece. You may feel at times that Miss Hellman has overplayed her hand in this character, who at moments bears no resemblance to the vast majority of human beings. But before the author is through with her, you will understand that Regina Giddens is a thoroughly credible character. She has her counterpart in many men and women of great wealth, just as her brothers, Ben and Oscar, have their aggressive counterparts in our time.

Regina wants the world, and she means to have it. To achieve it, she is willing to sacrifice her brothers, her daughter, her ailing husband, Horace. Him she drives to his death—worse still, she *permits* him to die when it is entirely within her power to prevent his death. And by letting him die, she assures herself of seventy-five percent of the cotton-milling business her brothers are negotiating. Her triumph is empty, however, for her daughter abandons her at the moment of Regina's greatest material success. "I don't want the world," she tells her mother, and she indicates her intention to go somewhere else, associate with people, struggle as part of that segment of society which can no longer sit silently and watch the locusts devour the earth that belongs to the majority.

Miss Hellman has written a perfect fable for our times. The little foxes have no concern with their "inferiors" except to keep them in line. They are frequently kind to their Negro servants, but only on condition that the latter "keep their place." The rulers can afford to be charitable so long as the majority upon whom they prey does not challenge their power and their "superiority." The audiences will not only identify many contemporary individuals in the Hubbard brothers and their sister; they will recognize the class nature of our society itself. For the fable is not oversimplified.

The audience can recognize and reecho the sentiments of certain characters; that there are better ways to make a living than to "play one group of workers off against another," to "create sweatshops" and exploit those who must live in them; to oppress the Negro because his skin is black. For the characters in *The Little Foxes* rise from the particular to the general. They are both types and human beings, individuals as well as symbols.

There are few words adequate to praise the job done by Miss Hellman; by William Wyler, the director; by Gregg Toland, the photographer of *Citizen Kane;* by the ensemble of actors. Mr. Wyler has used his players and Mr. Toland's camera with imagination and intelligence. The film moves from point to point with astonishing fluidity.

Bette Davis, in the role Tallulah Bankhead created on the stage, rarely has been better. She is an actress of enormous sensitivity and power of projection, and although unfortunately made up to look like Miss Bankhead, she gives the role an individual cachet. As Regina Miss Davis has created a character that will live in the annals of the film. The recent stylization of her technique is still evident, but less obtrusive. Many of her neurotic mannerisms have been dropped, and she possesses an authority that confirms once more her preeminent position as an actress of, by, and for the films.

The rest of the cast functions continuously on a high plane of performing skill. As Regina's daughter young Teresa Wright has charm without any ingenue sappiness; charm

THE LITTLE FOXES, *and one of their victims. Reading clockwise, Charles Dingle, Patricia Collinge (the victim), Carl Benton Reid, and the vixen-in-chief, Bette Davis.*

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and genuine emotion. Herbert Marshall as Horace Giddens, the husband, rises above the usual run of his performances, which have tended to be restrained to the point of woodenness. He is credible and moving. The brothers Hubbard, Charles Dingle and Carl Benton Reid, and the former's son, Dan Duryea, carry their stage roles over to the screen magnificently. The daughter's lover, as played by Richard Carlson, overcomes the screen juvenile's perennial handicap and emerges with a genuine characterization.

But a special place should be reserved for Patricia Collinge, as brother Oscar's wife, Birdie. In a way it is unfortunate for Miss Davis that Miss Collinge plays in this film the same role she had on the stage, for Miss Collinge offers us that extra something which makes the difference between a stunning performance such as Miss Davis', and a true creation. In an emotional scene that runs no more than five minutes, she completely steals the picture from the star. Making all due allowances for the fact that Miss Collinge is playing a sympathetic character against Miss Davis' vixen, you cannot help feeling that where Miss Davis is intelligent and sensitive, Miss Collinge's Birdie is not only intelligent and sensitive, but deeply felt and powerfully projected. The actress has completely understood the character of the defeated wife of the tycoon—the destruction of a woman's fundamental kindliness and human potentialities by a brutal husband who mistreats, neglects, and despises her. Few such portraits of human character are seen upon our screens, and if *The Little Foxes* offered nothing more than Miss Collinge's Birdie, you would still have to see it.

But it offers much more. It demonstrates what our film industry can do with a fine, honest script, adapted by an author who possesses a reputation sufficient to prevent her creation from being mishandled; plus a brilliant cast excellently directed and beautifully photographed. *The Little Foxes* is an experience in the cinema as it was in the theater; an experience in the understanding of our life.

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON'S *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* has been filmed by the moving picture industry three times. John Barrymore's horrendous interpretation of the schizophrenic Dr. Jekyll disturbed our youthful dreams. Fredric March essayed the role some years later, made up to look more like an anthropoid than Barrymore's pterodactyl, and now we have poor old Spencer Tracy.

We say poor old Spencer Tracy because he is one of our most charming leading men, with no small amount of masculine appeal and histrionic ability. If I were Mr. Tracy, I'm sure I'd sue Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer for what they have wrought this time.

Figurez vous, as the French say. Some brilliant mind in the MGM office decided that in remaking the old yarn—and a swell yarn it is at that—Stevenson's fantasy should be turned to realistic uses. You can just hear the boys in the story conference saying, "Look —this Dr. Jekyll; he was a guy just like you and me, see? It ain't likely that he would turn into a hydrocephalic idiot like John Barrymore's Mr. Hyde. No siree. The point of Stevenson's story is that there is some evil in the best of us, and some good in the worst of us, and that's the idea to plug." So what did they do? Well, what they did was a caution.

Instead of turning poor Spencer Tracy into a Barrymorish monster, they merely had the makeup man touch up his gentle, kindly face to look somewhat coarse and brutal. So Jekyll, transformed for the first time into Hyde, looks at himself in the mirror and winks. When he winks, you—and the audience—know just what he is thinking. The good Dr. Jekyll, having given free rein to his baser impulses, is out to pick up a girl, since as his regular self he has to be terribly polite and genteel to Miss Lana Turner, his fiancee. So he goes to a low music hall. There he finds Ingrid Bergman herself, a luscious lady with accommodating morals. Boy, oh boy. The audience howled itself sick at this conception of evil.

Well, of course, the boy grew worse. It got so he not only drank champagne and picked up Ingrid, but even tripped up waiters, beat Ingrid, discovered that he was constantly turning into Hyde even without taking the steaming potion he had concocted, and the first thing you know, he strangled Ingrid. Then he beat Lana Turner's ham-acting papa, Donald Crisp, over the bean, and by that time you knew he was finished.

Spencer Tracy does his best; at moments he is not only convincing, but exciting to watch. Let us say nothing about Miss Lana Turner. Miss Ingrid Bergman, who is a real actress with a real actress' temperament, does the best she can with the mess MGM has tossed at her. But Spencer Tracy; weep for him, if you can keep from busting a stay.

WARNER BROTHERS' most recent anti-Nazi film, *Underground,* is playing the smaller houses, and it might be well here to remind those who have not seen it, to see it now. I, myself, have just got around to it, and I'd like to add a few words of my own to Joy Davidman's review in the July 15 issue.

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For, despite some omissions and distortions, *Underground* is an extremely important picture. The major omission, as Miss Davidman pointed out, is the failure to show that this underground movement in Germany is largely organized and directed by the German Communist Party. The distortions are slight, and result from an attempt to point up the drama by circumstances that are not very likely to occur in real life.

But the important thing about *Underground,* aside from its enormous excitement, the excellence of Vincent Sherman's direction, and the sound, understanding performances by Martin Kosleck, Kaaren Verne, Philip Dorn, and Jeffrey Lynn, is the insight it affords into the nature of the German opposition to Hitlerism—an opposition that finds its counterpart throughout the world, wherever people fight reaction. You learn from this film that the anti-Hitler fighters are no small, isolated group of courageous intellectuals. You learn, as you must instinctively have known, that they comprise a powerful, integrated, and infinitely courageous majority of the common people: workers, farmers, professional persons, throughout the land. They give the lie direct to Klaus Mann who, in a recent issue of the magazine *Decision,* saw fit in attacking *Underground* to libel the German people themselves. "The primary task of an anti-Nazi film," said Mr. Mann, "is to reveal and to dramatize the real atrocity of the Nazis, the misery and boredom of daily life in the Third Reich, the martyrdom and *stupidity* of the German masses. . . ." [My italics—A. B.]

The people of the German underground—and we do not need this fine picture to convince us—are far from stupid, far from being martyrs in the sense that Mr. Mann implies. And it is not likely that they would find that "the real atrocity" of the Nazis is the "misery and boredom of daily life." They have had their sons, brothers and sisters, their fathers and husbands torn from them for torture and death. They have had their organizations smashed, their standards of living lowered to the vanishing point, their children regimented and miseducated, taught to despise each other. Perhaps this is what Mr. Mann means by "misery and boredom," and if so, he has chosen a singularly inept phrase. But the activity of the people portrayed in *Underground* can scarcely be called "stupid."

It will hearten you to see this film, and it will encourage you even more to experience the reaction of the audience. Their hatred of fascism in every form is evident in the way they respond to certain sequences of the film; their understanding of the issues is shown in their warm approval of those characters who represent the *real* people's opposition to Hitler. The picture has almost everything—suspense, sound humor, valid sentiment. It is a credit to Hollywood.

THE FILM *Inside Russia* has been released by a company called Hoffberg Productions, Inc., which advertises it as a documentary. Actually it is an old travelogue, although this fact is never indicated in the projected titles, or

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the commentary by Norman Brokenshire. The film was probably made around 1924, judging from the clothing of both the Soviet people and the tourists, the 1917-vintage Renaults on the streets, and the rudimentary appearance of factories and industries as compared with those in recent clips.

Much of the footage is taken with blurred shots from train windows, beautiful but badly photographed scenery, and people rushing around in the jerky manner of those in early nickolodeon films. However, you will see some interesting things: the beginnings of collectivization, the unveiling of Oriental women (imagine how long ago this was shot!), the early creches and workers' schools being established on farms and in factories; the delegates from the various constituent republics of the Union; the emphasis on opportunity for all. Compare these shots with the new reels from the USSR and you will realize how far the Soviets have progressed toward their collective goals.

ALVAH BESSIE.

Ellington's Music

A review of some of the Duke's recent recordings.

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Take "Concerto for Cootie," for example. A song for solo trumpet accompanied by full band, it is a long, single, continuously developing melodic line, from the lamenting phrase with which it opens to the three stabbing notes of its coda, a beautiful example of Ellington's lyricism. Or there is "Cottontail," a fast stomp which opens with a tune of whose wide intervals and solid impact Stravinsky or Bartok would be proud, and continues breathlessly through an exciting series of dissonant clashes of melody and counterposed rhythms—a remarkably subtle and exciting

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GOINGS ON

MARXIST ANALYSIS OF THE WEEK'S NEWS by Oakley Johnson, Daily Worker staff writer, Sun., Aug. 31, 8:30 P. M., Workers School, 50 E. 13 Street, Admission 25 cents.

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piece of music. For charm there is "Jack the Bear," in which scraps of melody are engagingly thrown from saxes to piano, then to clarinet, trumpet, and string bass. For boldness there is "Mobile Bay," a blues perfect in its starkness, its economy of statement, and, for humor there is the jolly, affectionately written "Portrait of Bert Williams." "Mobile Bay," under the name of Rex Stewart and Orchestra, is Bluebird; the others are Victor.

It is a cooperative music. The guiding spirit is always that of Ellington, but the final product would be impossible without the contributions of artists like Cootie Williams and Rex Stewart on trumpet, Ben Webster on tenor sax, Barney Bigard on clarinet, Lawrence Brown on trombone, Jimmy Blanton on string bass. They are not only fine performers but rich in creative ideas themselves. The idea of collective creation may startle some critics, but is there any reason why a work of art may not be the product of many creative minds? This is one of the ideas opened up by Ellington's music.

It is also a music small in scope, with no piece lasting over three minutes. This limitation is forced upon Ellington, since his livelihood comes from dance halls, one-night stands, and records made for dancing. There is precious little time left to work out music in larger forms. Yet the consistent level of good music is surprisingly high. The inconclusive pieces are usually those in which the Duke is working out his ideas, and the good ones, short as they may be, are fine music with no reservations, a considerable contribution of Negro talent to our national culture. And the integrity with which Ellington has worked throughout his career, avoiding the insipidities of Tin Pan Alley song plugging, creating as fine and original music as he knew how, puts to shame the large-band leaders, with their cry, "We have to be commercial to make a living."

American music may take a variety of forms, but the power of Ellington's work raises many questions. Is there any reason why American composers must always feel constrained to work in forms suitable for Carnegie Hall or Town Hall presentation, for symphony orchestra or string quartet or virtuoso pianist? These are forms created by nineteenth century Europe for its own needs. They are not necessarily permanent or eternally perfect. Study of the records mentioned above will confirm the wealth of color in the interplay of solo voice and full choir, the capacity for sweetness and strength latent in the fifteen-piece jazz band. And while Ellington's band is composed of extraordinary players, his music can be satisfactorily performed by others, as Benny Goodman has shown. It is also about time we gave Ellington proper recognition with a series of full length concerts.

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